Music in eighteenth-century London Shakespeare productions

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Abstract

This thesis considers the music used in eighteenth-century London Shakespeare productions. Where possible it identifies and locates the music and examines its dramatic function. The primary sources consulted include: printed and manuscript music and play texts; promptbooks; newspaper advertisements; and contemporary, or near-contemporary, commentaries.

London was a major theatrical centre at this time, and Shakespeare's plays formed a significant proportion of the drama staged during the century (approximately one sixth of the repertory). Only in one of his plays (as they have come down to us) does Shakespeare not call for music, and thirty-six of his thirty-seven plays were performed at least once during the eighteenth century. Because of the major changes that had taken place in the theatres at the Restoration, however, most of Shakespeare's plays were performed in an adapted form during at least part of the eighteenth century. Music not infrequently played a significant part in these alterations, and a good actor/singer was clearly seen as a draw for audiences.

The amount, importance and variety of music in eighteenth-century Shakespeare productions is fascinating. For example, *A Midsummer's Night Dream* and *The Tempest* were turned into operas; *The Taming of the Shrew* became a ballad farce; *Measure for Measure* had Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas* inserted into it; *A Comedy of Errors* gained an additional scene, an extra character and a song; the lyrics in *Love's Labour's Lost* were transferred into performances of *As You Like It*; and *King John* acquired choruses between the acts. Music, naturally, was always subsidiary to the drama itself, rather like costumes and scenery. However, particular musical settings certainly enhanced the popularity of some plays. Two important examples of this are Leveridge's *Macbeth* music and the additional funeral dirge in *Romeo and Juliet*.

The thesis is divided into three sections: comedies, histories and tragedies. Within each section the plays are examined individually, each with its own chapter.

Acknowledgements

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CONTENTS

Abbreviations

Works Frequently Cited

BD	Philip H. Highfill Jr, Kalmin A. Burnim and Edward A. Langhans, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers & Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800* 16 vols (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1973 -93).
BUCEM	*The British Union-Catalogue of Early Music printed before the year 1801* edited by Edith B. Schnapper 2 vols (London, 1957).
D&M	Cyrus Lawrence Day and Eleanore Boswell Murrie, *English Song-Books 1651-1702: A Bibliography with a First-line Index of Songs* (London and Oxford, 1940).
ESTC	*Eighteenth-Century Short Title Catalogue* on CD-ROM, produced by the British Library.
G&T	Bryan S. Gooch and David Thatcher, *A Shakespeare Music Catalogue* 5 vols (Oxford, 1991).
Genest	John Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* 10 vols (Bath, 1832)
HG	Charles Beecher Hogan, *Shakespeare in the Theatre 1701-1800* 2 vols (Oxford, 1952, 1957)
LS	*The London Stage 1660-1800. A Calendar of Plays, Entertainments & Afterpieces Together with Casts, Box-Receipts and Contemporary Comment* edited by William Van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten, George Winchester Stone Jr, and Charles Beecher Hogan 11 vols (Carbondale, 1960-68).
LS II (r)	Revision of *The London Stage* for 1700 to 1707 by Robert D. Hume and Judith Milhous, awaiting publication.
LS Index	Ben Ross Schneider Jr, *Index to The London Stage 1660-1800* (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1979 R/1980).
Neighbarger	Randy L. Neighbarger, *An Outward Show: Music for Shakespeare on the London Stage, 1660-1830* (Westport, Connecticut and London, 1992).
NG	*The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* edited by Stanley Sadie 20 vols (London, 1980).
Odell	George C. D. Odell, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving* 2 vols (London, 1921).
Opera Grove	*The New Grove Dictionary of Opera*, edited by Stanley Sadie 4 vols (London, 1992).
Price	Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979).

Seng	Peter J. Seng, *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare: A Critical History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1967 R/1968).
Simpson	Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and its Music* (New Brunswick , 1966).

Library Sigla

BL	British Library
Bp	Boston Public Library, Music Depatment
Cfm	Fitzwilliam Musem, Cambridge
Ckc	King's College, Rowe Library, Cambridge
Cmc	Magdalene College, Pepys Library, Cambridge
Cn	Newberry Library, Chicago
Cpl	Pendlebury Library of Music, Cambridge
Lam	Royal Academy of Music, London
Lcm	Royal College of Music, London
NH	Yale University, School of Music Library, New Haven
NO	Nottingham University Library
NYp	New York Public Library at the Lincoln Center, Library and Museum of the Performing Arts
Ob	Bodleian Library, Oxford
Wc	Library of Congress, Music Division, Washington D. C.
Ws	Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington D. C.

Introduction

This thesis is concerned with the music used in eighteenth-century London Shakespeare productions. As a prelude to the discussion of the music, however, it is useful to establish the general position of Shakespeare's drama at this time. The eighteenth century gave birth to serious scholarly editions of Shakespeare's work, much learned criticism, debate over Shakespeare's education, the establishment of the chronology of Shakespeare's plays, meticulous research into other Elizabethan drama and, finally, the elevation of Shakespeare to the position of immortal National Poet.[1] On the stage Shakespeare's works comprised approximately one sixth of the London theatrical repertory, a dominance far in excess of their current London position.[2] Yet for much of the eighteenth century Shakespeare's plays, although acknowledged as the products of a genius, were not accepted as they stood. Critics found faults with the works, and although all but one of the plays were performed at least once during the century, many of them were staged in radically adapted forms. This approach to Shakespeare was largely inherited from the Restoration, encouraged by the writing of critics such as John Dryden and Thomas Rymer.

The Restoration of the monarchy in 1660 had heralded a new era, characterised by continental (and particularly French) values, of renewed self-confidence, and of hedonism. The theatres that opened in the 1660s were a far cry from those at the beginning of the seventeenth century. These new buildings were fairly small indoor public theatres, employing the latest European developments in elaborate scenic effects, introducing women onto the stage, and making full use of musicians and singers.[3] Continental influence was felt also, through neo-classicism, in the structure of the new drama - with, for example, its emphasis on the unities of time, place and action, and its very clear distinction between comedy and tragedy. In addition, the English language had undergone rapid change during the seventeenth century. Thus the grammar and vocabulary of Shakespeare's drama were already almost foreign to Restoration audiences.

Against this background, it is little wonder that eighteenth-century critics had difficulty in coping with what they perceived as the irregular and unpolished, yet natural and vivid, works of an untutored genius. This ambivalence was well expressed by Alexander Pope, writing in 1725, who likened Shakespeare's dramatic output to 'an ancient majestick piece of *Gothick* Architecture, compar'd with a neat Modern building'.[4] He continued:

> The latter is more elegant and glaring, but the former is more strong and more solemn ... It has much the greater variety, and much the nobler apartments; tho' we are often conducted to them by dark, odd, and uncouth passages. Nor does the Whole fail to strike us with greater reverence, tho' many of the Parts are childish, ill-pac'd, and unequal to its grandeur.

This discernment of extremes found physical expression in Pope's edition of the plays, through his use of commas to distinguish 'some of the most shining passages', while sections deemed to be particularly faulty were 'degraded to the bottom of the page'.

The ambivalence was still felt forty years later, when Samuel Johnson wrote the preface to his edition of Shakespeare's works.[5] He provided two metaphors:

> The work of a correct and regular writer is a garden accurately formed and diligently planted, varied with shades, and scented with flowers; the composition of *Shakespeare* is a forest, in which oaks extend their branches, and pines tower in the air, interspersed sometimes with weeds and brambles, and sometimes giving shelter to myrtles and to roses; filling the eye with awful pomp, and gratifying the mind with endless diversity. Other poets display cabinets of precious rarities, minutely finished, wrought into shape, and polished unto brightness. *Shakespeare* opens a mine which contains gold and diamonds in unexhaustible plenty, though clouded by incrustations, debased by impurities, and mingled with a mass of meaner materials.

For Johnson these 'impurities' were not the violation of neo-classical rules: the mixing of tragedy with comedy, and the non-observance of the unities were readily defended by him. His objections were on quite different grounds. After stating that 'the end of writing is to instruct; the end of poetry is to instruct by pleasing', he complained about Shakespeare's lack of concern for poetic justice: 'he makes no just distribution of good or evil, nor is always careful to shew in the virtuous a disapprobation of the wicked'. The structure of Shakespeare's plays was criticised:

> The plots are often loosely formed, that a very slight consideration may improve them, and so carelessly pursued, that he seems not always to comprehend his own design ... in many of his plays the latter part is evidently neglected.

Johnson objected to Shakespeare's lack of distinction of time or place, and he attacked Shakespeare's style:

> In his comick scenes he is seldom very successful, when he engages his characters in reciprocations of smartness and contests of sarcasm; their jests are commonly gross, and their pleasantry licentious; neither his gentlemen nor his ladies have much delicacy, nor are sufficiently distinguished from his clowns by any appearance of refined manners ... In tragedy his performance seems constantly to be worse, as his labour is more ... In narration he affects a disproportionate pomp of diction and a wearisome train of circumlocution, and tells the incident imperfectly in many words, which might have been more plainly delivered in few ... His declamations or set speeches are commonly cold and weak ... It is incident to him to be now and then entangled with an unwieldy sentiment, which he cannot well express, and will not reject ... not that always where the language is intricate the thought is subtle, or the image always great where the line is bulky; the equality of words to things is very often neglected.

But Shakespeare's greatest fault, according to Johnson, was his fondness for quibbles:

> A quibble, poor and barren as it is, gave him such delight, that he was content to purchase it, by the sacrifice of reason, propriety and truth. A quibble was to him the fatal *Cleopatra* for which he lost the world, and was content to lose it.

Critical opinion changed after Johnson, largely due to the inexhaustible industry of George Steevens and Edmond Malone. It was especially Malone, with his meticulous research into Elizabethan drama, who succeeded in establishing Shakespeare in a specific historical context, with its own different, but valid, practices and styles. Thus Shakespeare could be elevated from the status of flawed genius, as judged by eighteenth-century ideals, to that of unequivocal dramatic giant, when understood as a product of his own time.

Stage productions of Shakespeare's plays during the Restoration and eighteenth century reflected the concerns articulated by critics like Pope and Johnson. In some adaptations Shakespeare's language was modernised and simplified: rich poetic imagery on the one hand, and bawdy and punning on the other, were frequently excised. Shakespeare's plots were often tightened up, usually by the removal of seemingly unnecessary characters and sub-plots. Some attempts were made to adapt Shakespeare to neo-classical principles: a late example is David Garrick's 1772 alteration of *Hamlet*. Non-observance of the unities was tolerated to some extent, but not when stretched as far as in *The Winter's Tale* and *Pericles*, both of which, consequently, were usually produced in drastically shortened and adapted forms. Complex moral issues were simplified: in Charles Gildon's adaptation of *Measure for Measure*, for example, Julietta and Claudio are already secretly married, not just betrothed, and Angelo, similarly, is wed to the Mariana he has abandoned. Finally, the desire for poetic justice ensured that *King Lear* was never acted in its original form during the eighteenth century, but always with Nahum Tate's happy ending.

It was not just these principles, however, that encouraged Restoration and eighteenth-century adaptations of Shakespeare's plays. Theatre managers needed to attract audiences, and so were keen to exploit the pure entertainment potential of any work. Thus Shakespeare's plays were also altered according to the whims of dramatic fashion, hence the additional sexual interest in the Restoration adaptation of *The Tempest* and the later reduction of several of Shakespeare's comedies to short farces and afterpieces. Not surprisingly, it was in the sphere of entertainment that music had a particularly significant role to play.

Among the developments of the Restoration theatre was the birth of what is often termed English dramatic opera. This was a very expensive form of entertainment, essentially a spoken play, but one in which music, dancing and spectacle (machines, splendid costumes and elaborate scenery) played critical parts. An important distinction from continental opera is that, in these dramatic operas, the principal characters did not sing. Three of Shakespeare's plays were converted into dramatic operas: *Macbeth*, *The Tempest*, and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The musical additions to *Macbeth*, re-set by Richard Leveridge in 1702, remained with performances of that play until well into the nineteenth century. During the first half of the eighteenth century *The Tempest*, also with new music, shared a similar outcome. Later on, however, it underwent a number of different alterations, with varying amounts of music. *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in contrast, was subjected to frequent musical experimentation, with none of its many adaptations remaining long on the stage.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century the vogue had passed from dramatic opera to the insertion of masques into spoken drama. Adaptations of three other Shakespeare plays reflect this

trend: Charles Gildon's *Measure for Measure*, George Granville's *The Jew of Venice* (from *The Merchant of Venice*) and William Burnaby's *Love Betray'd* (*Twelfth Night*). *Measure for Measure* is particularly important as its masque is not a newly-composed one, but Henry Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas*, divided into several entertainments and dispersed through the play. In structure it is essentially a dramatic opera. No original music survives from Granville's substantial masque 'Peleus and Thetis', though there are later eighteenth-century settings quite separate from the play, while Burnaby's masque, whose text was not printed, failed to be set to music at all.

The first half of the eighteenth century was a time of general experimentation with dramatic form, encouraging farces - many satirical - and afterpieces. Music often played a significant part in these short entertainments, and this is reflected in several of the adaptations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Winter's Tale*. There were other developments too. As Italian opera began to establish itself in the early decades of the century so, in the main theatres, strong anti-opera feelings were aroused. The attack on Italian opera culminated, in 1728, in John Gay's parody *The Beggar's Opera*, the success of which led to a large number of ballad operas in the 1730s and 1740s. The one Shakespeare play affected by this development was *The Taming of the Shrew*. It was altered into a two-act ballad farce, *A Cure for a Scold*, by James Worsdale in 1735. Prior to *The Beggar's Opera*, however, anti-opera sentiments had been expressed in the burlesque adaptation *Pyramus and Thisbe*. This mock-opera, derived from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, was set twice: by Leveridge in 1716 and, with a slightly different text, by John Frederick Lampe in 1745.

There were a number of attempts, nevertheless, during the eighteenth century to establish English opera along the lines of Italian opera - all sung and with recitative. Three Shakespeare plays were adapted in this way: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *The Tempest* and *Love's Labour's Lost*. The first two of these were staged in 1755 and 1756, with music by John Christopher Smith. The success of each was short-lived, and *Love's Labour's Lost*, which was adapted into an opera by Edward Thompson in 1773, failed to reach the stage at all. The project was abandoned before any of the libretto had been set to music.

There are two other Restoration practices which affected Shakespeare productions at the start of the eighteenth century. The first is the use of act tunes - instrumental music played between the acts of a play. This practice died out very early, but there survives act music for *Henry IV Part I*, *Measure for Measure*, *Othello*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Timon of Athens*, *Titus Andronicus* and *Twelfth Night*, all of which may have been used in the opening years of the century. The only examples of instrumental act music for Shakespeare's plays later in the century are those for *Macbeth* by James Oswald (early 1740s) and Samuel Arnold (1778). Act tunes were replaced by songs and other entertainment between the acts. Usually these were unrelated to the play itself, and are not normally discussed in this thesis. There is one notable exception, however. In 1754 *King John* was produced with choruses between the acts, commenting on the action, and set to music. John Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, had earlier experimented with choruses, in the same manner, in his adaptation of *Julius Caesar* (published posthumously in 1722). His adaptation in fact comprised two

plays, and failed to reach the stage, although the choruses from both works were given concert performances in 1723 and 1739.

The other hang-over from the Restoration was the introduction into plays of songs by singers who were not members of the speaking cast. The songs were usually a commentary on a situation, and commonly used generic names rather than those of the characters to whom they were alluding. Examples of these songs can be found for early eighteenth-century productions of *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Timon of Athens*. Singers were always an important draw-card to the theatre, as is testified by their frequent mention on playbills and in newspaper advertisements. After the initial years of the century, singers who could not act were placed in the inter-act entertainments. However, where possible they were accommodated in the play itself. For example, *The Comedy of Errors* is the only Shakespeare play which contains no cue for music. In Thomas Hull's adaptation, however, there is an extra garden scene, with an additional character, whose sole function in the drama is to introduce a song. Generally, however, singers took on minor roles and inserted extra songs 'in character'. In this way Miss Leak, playing Hero, introduced several additional songs into her benefit performance of *Much Ado About Nothing* in 1798. Five years earlier Miss Poole made her stage debut as Ophelia, in which role she sang Henry Purcell's 'Mad Bess', and when Ann Field first appeared on the stage it was as Ariel (*The Tempest*, 1777) with new songs specially composed for her by her teacher, Thomas Linley Junior. Of course, the talents of any actors or actresses who could sing were readily exploited. For example, in the middle of the eighteenth century many songs were specially composed for the actress Kitty Clive, while earlier in the century Richard Leveridge composed additional pieces for himself (such as the grave-digger's songs for *Hamlet* in 1730 and 1734).

The relationship between any Shakespeare play and its songs was, as should now be apparent, somewhat fluid in the eighteenth century. Whether or not an adaptation retained the lyrics of its parent play was usually dependent on how radical the adaptation was: more heavily rewritten plays tended to include new lyrics. In some adaptations, such as Aaron Hill's *Henry V* and James Miller's *The Universal Passion* (*Much Ado About Nothing*), songs were introduced in places where previously they were lacking. Additional songs were also inserted into productions of Shakespeare's 'original' plays, as in the revivals of *The Merchant of Venice* and *Twelfth Night* in 1741. Sometimes these extra songs were popular numbers transferred from other plays. This practice can be seen in productions of *Henry V*, *Henry VIII*, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Twelfth Night* and *The Winter's Tale*. Sometimes words not originally intended to be sung were set to music, as happened in *The Tempest* and *As You Like It*. Occasionally, a Shakespeare song was inserted into the 'wrong' play: in the 1740-41 season, for example, 'When daisies pied' from *Love's Labour's Lost* was added to *As You Like It*, while performances of *Twelfth Night* included 'Tell me where is fancy bred' from *The Merchant of Venice*. Normally, the settings of Shakespeare's songs used in the theatre were written specifically for that purpose, though where it was felt appropriate, as with Ophelia's songs in *Hamlet*, traditional tunes, rather than newly-composed ones, were used. Very occasionally, a popular setting of a Shakespeare lyric, not originally intended for the stage, was adopted by the theatre. This occurred with two glees,

one each by R. J. S. Stevens and Thomas Arne, which were included in performances of *Much Ado About Nothing* and *Twelfth Night* respectively. In this thesis I have not been generally concerned with settings of Shakespeare's lyrics which were not used in the theatre.

Restoration fondness for spectacle re-surfaced in the eighteenth century in the periodic emulation of real-life public events. The coronations of George II and George III inspired large-scale pageantry in performances of *Henry VIII*, while the lying-in-state of Edmund Sheffield, Duke of Buckingham, found echo in 'The Ceremony of Hamlet's Lying in State' in a performance of *Hamlet* in 1736.[6] The potential for similar grand events was exploited in other plays. Much fuss was made of the Ovation in *Coriolanus* (at Coriolanus's entry to Rome), while the added funeral processions to *Romeo and Juliet* and, in 1793, to *Hamlet* no doubt increased the attraction of these plays. In all this pageantry music naturally had an important role.

A different form of spectacle, and one in which music was crucial, was dancing. This was important in a number of plays, such as *Cymbeline*, *Much Ado About Nothing*, *Romeo and Juliet* and *The Tempest*. Although the dancers were often named, and the titles of the dances, I have been unable to identify the music used. To try to do so would be a major project, beyond the scope of this thesis. There are two dances, nevertheless, the titles of which suggest that they were used in performances of *Measure for Measure* and *Much Ado About Nothing*. Other music which is required, but cannot be identified, includes military signals and atmospheric background music (such as 'soft music'). The one exception to this is William Boyce's music for animating Hermione's statue in *The Winter's Tale*.

The amount and nature of music used in productions of Shakespeare's plays (and their adaptations) naturally depended, to some extent, on the availability of composers and singers. At different times through the eighteenth century individual composers were closely related to particular theatres, composing music for a number of plays. These composers, among whom were John Eccles, Richard Leveridge, Thomas Arne, William Boyce and Samuel Arnold, did not enjoy a monopoly. No fewer than thirty-eight composers contributed music for eighteenth-century London productions of Shakespeare's plays, and the music of a further six composers was also appropriated to this end. Similarly, although certain singers were prominent at different points in the century, there never seems to have been a shortage of adequate singing voices. The theatres seem to have been able to provide choruses when necessary, though for some performances of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Henry VIII* the adults were supported by children from the Chapel Royal. Advertisements for *Macbeth* and *The Tempest*, nevertheless, reveal the increasing vocal resources available to theatre managers as the century progressed. I have not investigated the make-up of the theatre orchestras. At the beginning of the century the standard accompaniment seems to have been four-part strings. Gradually, keyboard continuo, timpani, bells, wood-wind (oboe, bassoon, flute) and brass instruments (trumpet, horn) were added. Brass instruments, however, must always have been available for the military signals.

This summary of the findings of this thesis may suggest that music played a significant part in all Shakespeare productions during the eighteenth century. The situation, however, is more complex, as is revealed when considering the position of the three most popular Shakespeare plays of the

century: *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* and *Richard III*. Music played a small part in productions of *Hamlet* - which usually comprised just Ophelia's songs, sung to traditional tunes, and the grave-digger's songs - although other music was occasionally introduced. For *Macbeth*, however, the singing and dancing witches, using Leveridge's music, were an important and integral part of virtually all eighteenth-century productions of the play. In contrast, we know of no music used in any performances of *Richard III* during the eighteenth century.

The purpose of this thesis is to identify, and where possible locate, the music used in productions of Shakespeare's plays during the eighteenth century. I have attempted to make this study as comprehensive as possible, though lack of space has precluded much discussion of the quality of the music. Admittedly, some of the music is pretty dull, and none of it reaches the standard of a Mozart or Haydn, yet most of it was well received at the time, is perfectly respectable and deserves modern recordings. Among the better pieces Thomas Arne's songs have been recorded, but they deserve a more sensitive, historically-informed performance. Defesch's *Tempest* songs were broadcast by the BBC in 1987, but are not commercially available. I am delighted, however, that a recording of Thomas Linley Junior's complete *Tempest* music has recently been issued, and also John Frederick Lampe's *Pyramus and Thisbe*. Of other large-scale compositions I should like to see recordings of the *Macbeth* settings by Eccles and Leveridge - the latter more for its historical importance than intrinsic musical merit - and also of the two Smith operas.

Whilst writing this thesis two works have been published which, to some extent, overlap with my work, and require comment. The first is a Ph.D. thesis by Randy L. Neighbarger, published as a book in 1992: *An Outward Show: Music for Shakespeare on the London Stage, 1660-1830.* Neighbarger puts into a theatrical-historical context the broader dramatic developments reflected in Shakespeare productions. His approach is chronological, examining the wider movements affecting often several plays at any one time. The relative brevity of the book, considering the number of years covered, ensures that the work is not comprehensive in the way I have tried to be. Necessarily, less important productions are frequently neglected, and this thesis contains many details which were not of interest to Neighbarger. The second work is: Bryan Gooch and David Thatcher, *A Shakespeare Catalogue* 5 vols (Oxford, 1991). This catalogue lists all known settings of Shakespeare and all Shakespeare-inspired compositions ever written. Encompassing the work of a vast number of scholars, it is a very valuable reference work. Nevertheless, because of the all-embracing nature of the project, information is presented in a rather abstract way, and it is difficult to build up a picture of the stage history of any play in any century. Also, since the starting point was music, rather than stage productions, some non-Shakespearean songs which were inserted into performances of Shakespeare's plays in an integral way, are excluded. One such example is Arne's 'Love's the tyrant of the heart', from his *Alfred*, which replaced 'Orpheus with his lute' in late eighteenth-century performances of *Henry VIII*. Other discrepancies arise because the question of the relationship of Shakespeare adaptations to their original plays seems not to have been fully confronted and resolved. Needless to say, however, the work remains invaluable as the most thorough and up-to-date reference work currently available.

In writing this thesis I have relied heavily on the various volumes of *The London Stage*.[7] Only where entries seemed ambiguous, or I needed more details, have I consulted the original newspaper advertisements and contemporary accounts: to have checked all references would have delayed the completion of this thesis by several more years. I am also indebted to Charles Beecher Hogan's *Shakespeare in the Theatre, 1701-1800* 2 vols (Oxford, 1952, 1957). Since throughout the century Shakespeare's plays were frequently played in adapted form, I have followed Hogan's practice in considering performances of all adaptations that are clearly derived from Shakespeare's text, as well as performances of Shakespeare's unaltered plays. Occasionally, however, I have included discussion of adaptations not noted by Hogan.

In this thesis each play is considered in its own separate chapter. For convenience I have sub-divided the plays into those three convenient categories: comedies, histories and tragedies. The comedies comprise the largest group, and the one for which most music is both required and was written: *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, in particular, elicited substantial musical attention. The histories, by contrast, call for the least music in Shakespeare's plays and, with a few exceptions, were among the least popular works of the canon. Nevertheless, there were some interesting musical experiments, particularly with *Henry VIII* and *King John*. As a group the tragedies were the most successful on the stage. Their musical requirements are generally little more than the histories, but much more was added to them during the eighteenth century. *Macbeth* received the most musical treatment of the tragedies, but music was also important in performances of *Romeo and Juliet*, *Timon of Athens* and, at times, *Hamlet*. Within each of these groups the plays have been arranged alphabetically.

Section One

The Comedies

All's Well that Ends Well

Regarded as one of Shakespeare's 'problem' plays, *All's Well that Ends Well* has never been particularly popular. Indeed, although it was probably first acted between about 1601 and 1604, its earliest recorded performance is as late as 1741.[1] Between 7 March 1741 and 12 December 1794 it was performed on the London stage a total of fifty-one times.[2] Up to, and including, the performance at Covent Garden on 1 April 1746 it is likely that the text used was close to Shakespeare's original.[3] After this the play underwent three adaptations. Of these, the most successful was that by David Garrick. Opening at Drury Lane on 24 February 1756 it later transferred to Covent Garden, and was last performed there on 19 September 1774.[4] In contrast, Frederick Pilon's three-act version was staged just twice, at the Haymarket theatre on 26 and 28 July 1785,[5] whereas John Philip Kemble's alteration was presented only once, at Drury Lane on 12 December 1794.[6] Garrick's and Kemble's texts are both quite close to the Shakespeare original, with the changes comprising mostly ommissions and some transposition of scenes.[7] Of Pilon's text, however, we know little as it was not published.[8]

Musically there is very little of interest in *All's Well that Ends Well*. Flourishes and a march are called for, and the Clown sings. His song, beginning 'Was this fair face the cause, quoth she' (I. iii. 67-76), is rather non-sensical, and is thought to derive from a longer ballad.[9] Peter Seng queries whether it was ever sung:

> No original music exists for this song - if it is a song. Elsewhere in the play the clown seems to *recite* his scurrilous rhymes.[10]

G. K. Hunter, however, argues otherwise: '[The] F[olios]'s *bis* at l.71 is a clear indication of the stanza having been set to music'.[11] Although no settings exist for the eighteenth century, there is evidence that these lines were sung during this period. The earliest published acting text of *All's Well that Ends Well*, the 1773 Bell edition, contains the direction 'Singing' at the appropriate place, as does the 1793 edition of Kemble's alteration.[12] Also, of all the actors who played the part of the Clown (Richard Yates, Charles Macklin, John Dunstall, Thomas Chapman, Edward Shuter, John Quick, John Edwin, William Swords and John Bannister) only Thomas Chapman (Covent Garden, 1 April 1746) and John Quick (Covent Garden, 8 May 1772) were not noted singers.[13] The song would probably have been sung unaccompanied and, as a ballad, would have been musically quite simple.

As You Like It

It is curious that although *As You Like It* contains more songs than any other Shakespeare play, and despite its popularity in the second half of the eighteenth century, it failed to attract the sort of musical attention given to such plays as *The Tempest* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[1] This is largely because in these latter two works music is closely associated with the magical effects which pervade each of the plays, thus forming an organic part of the structure of the work. In *As You Like It*, however, it is only in the final masque that music is specifically associated with magic.

There are six songs in *As You Like It*, though with no more than two sung by any one character. The principal singer is Amiens, one of the lords keeping company with the banished duke in the Forest of Arden. He sings the initial two songs of the play. The first of these provides the matter for most of the fifth scene of the second act. Amiens sings the opening stanza of a song beginning 'Under the greenwood tree'. The lyrics express the simple, idealised, delights of rustic living. After some discourse with Jaques, Amiens sings a second stanza, continuing the same sentiments. This is followed by a brief dialogue:

> Jaques: I'll give you a verse to this note, that I
> made yesterday in despite of my invention.
> Amiens: And I'll sing it.
> Jaques: Thus it goes.

after which we receive a cynical third stanza. What is unclear is whether Jaques sings this stanza or recites it. Since Amiens has just volunteered to sing it, another possibility is that Jaques hands over the words of this stanza for Amiens to sing. Dramatically, however, the most effective solution is for Jaques to sing the lyrics himself, but with some degree of mockery. The main dramatic function of this scene, and of this song, seems to be to reveal Jaques's character, contrasting his melancholy and individualism with the apparent, and by implication superficial, contentment of the banished duke's followers.

The function of Amiens's next song is rather different. 'Blow, blow thou winter wind' serves two purposes. On the one hand it simply reiterates the belief expressed earlier in 'Under the greenwood tree' of the superiority of honest pastoral existence over the hypocrisy of court life. On the other it marks the passing of time. While the song is being sung Orlando tells his story to the banished duke, a history that is already known to the audience. The lyrics of the song also have a pre-echo in the sentiments of the duke's opening speech, when we first encounter him at the start of the second act:

> Here feel we not the penalty of Adam,
> The seasons' difference, as the icy fang
> And churlish chiding of the winter's wind,
> Which when it bites and blows upon my body
> Even till I shrink with cold, I smile, and say
> 'This is no flattery'.

The third song is really just a snatch of a popular ballad. 'O sweet Oliver' is used to mock the vicar Sir Oliver Martext, and to provide an exit for Touchstone, Jaques and Audrey. There is some debate over whether or not the lyrics were intended to be sung or recited, as they are not set in verse in the First Folio, which is our only authoritative text. Seng omits this song from his discussion of *As You Like It* in his *The Vocal Songs in the Plays of Shakespeare*. Yet singing is a common characteristic of clowns in Shakespeare's plays, being a typical manifestation of their 'madness'. There seems little reason to doubt that these words were in fact sung by Touchstone.[2]

The fourth song merely adds substance to an otherwise rather brief scene. 'What shall he have that kill'd the deer?' is a hunting song ordered by Jaques and sung by the two lords who have, indeed, just killed a deer. Like the first two songs it highlights the differences between this new, rougher, more earthy existence and the civilised life previously led by these lords. The fifth song, once again, provides a contrast of subject matter and of singers. 'It was a lover and his lass' is sung by two pages, who have no other role in the play. This is a pure pastoral love song, happy and uncomplicated, sung to entertain Touchstone and Audrey. Yet again the song provides the substance in an otherwise rather inconsequential, and arguably dramatically inessential, scene.

Finally, we reach the Wedding masque. 'Still music', that is soft music, accompanies the magical entrance of Hymen with the transformed Rosalind and Celia. There is uncertainty over whether Hymen's opening lines, beginning 'Then is there mirth in heaven', were intended to be sung, and indeed they were set to music in the eighteenth century. Seng argues, however, that the 'still music' should continue in the background as these verses are recited, and that only the lyrics specifically headed 'Song' should be sung.[3] This song, beginning 'Wedding is great Juno's crown', is a rejoicing in the natural resolution of the play, as four pairs of lovers are wedded. Now the only remaining musical requirement is the inevitable celebratory concluding dance.[4]

As You Like It was one of a group of comedies first revived 'as written by Shakespeare' in the 1740s. Prior to this there was just one adaptation of the play, which was performed at Drury Lane in 1723. Charles Johnson's *Love in a Forest* is a curious piece. Whole sections of Shakespeare's original are kept verbatim. However, there are some changes, with Touchstone and the genuine pastoral characters being omitted. Also, one or two incidents from other Shakespeare plays are appropriated. Jaques is turned briefly into a Benedick, as lines are inserted from *Much Ado About Nothing*, and it is he who marries Caelia [*sic*]. But the longest addition is the inclusion of the play Pyramus and Thisby [*sic*] from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: since Touchstone has been cut from this version some other diversion was needed during the final scene in order to allow Ganymede and Aliena time to change clothes and return transformed as Rosalind and Caelia.[5]

Several of the musical scenes are cut in Johnson's *Love in a Forest*. 'Under the greenwood tree', 'O sweet Oliver', 'It was a lover and his lass' and 'Wedding is great Juno's crown' are all omitted. 'Blow, blow thou winter wind', 'What shall he have that kill'd the deer' and Hymen's 'Then is there mirth in heaven' are, however, all indicated as being sung.[6] In addition, trumpet flourishes announce what is now a duel between Charles and Orlando in the first act, and there is the obligatory nuptial dance at the end. For all but one of these events, however, we lack music. The one exception

is the hunting song, sung now by one forester but with a chorus. A setting of this was made by Henry Carey, of which there are two separate contemporary publications. The first is entitled 'The Huntsmans Song in Love in a Forest' and provides a single-line melody with an unfigured bass accompaniment.[7] A more complete version of the song, however, is to be found in Carey's collection *Cantatas for Voice with Accompanyment Together with Songs on various subjects* (London, 1724). The title of the song here is 'The Hunting Song in Love in a Forest. Sung by Mr Ray at the Theatre Royal, the words by Shakespear'. A fully figured bass is provided in this edition, together with a five-voice setting of the chorus. It would seem from this evidence that Ray probably sang the piece when *Love in a Forest* was performed in January 1723: although listed as playing Moonshine, he no doubt also doubled as a forester. We know, too, that he sang the song between the acts of either George Buckingham's *The Chances* or Colley Cibber's *The School Boy* at Drury lane on 12 May 1724.[8] On this occasion it was apparently 'accompan'd with French Horns', though neither publication of the song provides parts for these. Carey's piece is quite simple, with the words set syllabically. A number of the phrases are repeated and there are some relatively minor textual differences from the song as published in the play text. To prevent the piece being too tedious Carey introduces a fair amount of modulation, moving from C major to E minor and A minor, then briefly to D minor and F major before finishing firmly in C major again.

As already mentioned, we lack information regarding any other music used in *Love in a Forest*, save that Hymen was acted by a Miss Lindar, an accomplished singer. It should be noted that no singer is assigned to the song 'Blow, blow thou winter wind'. It is quite likely that this too was sung by Miss Lindar, or possibly by Ray.

Love in a Forest saw just six performances at Drury Lane in January 1723.[9] In 1739 another adaptation, made by James Carrington and entitled *The Modern Receipt, or a Cure for Love*, was published. However, this was never acted.[10] Then, on 20 December 1740, Shakespeare's *As You Like It* was finally restored to the London stage.[11] Since no acting edition was published in London at the time it is a little difficult to ascertain exactly what music was used at this production. However, we do have three other important sources of information. As far as we can tell, the version of *As You Like It* performed in 1740 continued to be staged through to the end of the century. Thus some authority must be given to the Bell publication of 1773, which is our earliest London acting edition.[12] Charles Beecher Hogan, however, argues that a Dublin print of 1741 actually represents what happened in London in 1740:

> That this was the version used in the London theatres seems certain. Quin who appeared in Ireland in the summer of 1741, is listed in the dramatis personae as Jaques (which part he performed in London). It is probable that he brought the Drury Lane prompt copy with him.[13]

Our third source is a contemporary musical one, Thomas Arnes's *The Songs in the Comedies called As You Like It, and Twelfth Night* (London: William Smith [1741]). This contains three songs for *As You Like It*.

The Dublin 1741 and Bell 1773 editions are, in fact, very similar. Both follow Shakespeare's play closely, but contain a number of omissions, most of which are common to both publications.[14] As far as musical content is concerned these editions reveal some indebtedness to Johnson's *Love in a Forest*. Indeed, the Dublin edition includes exactly the songs in *Love in a Forest* ('Blow, blow thou winter wind', 'What shall he have that killed the deer' and 'Then is there mirth in heaven') with the addition of the first two stanzas of 'Under the greenwood tree'. The Bell edition omits the foresters' song and contains just one stanza of 'Under the greenwood tree'. However, it also includes an extra song in the fourth act, 'When daisies pied', which is taken from *Love's Labour's Lost*.

No contemporary setting of 'Then is there mirth in heaven' is extant, and we can only guess that Carey's 'What shall he have that killed the deer' may have been re-used in 1740. The three Arne songs are settings of: 'Under the greenwood tree', 'Blow, blow thou winter wind' and 'When daisies pied'. All three are charming, lyrical pieces. Only one stanza is employed in 'Under the greenwood tree', which is cast in ternary form, the initial four lines being repeated at the end. To the combination of two violins and continuo is added a 'flauto piccolo' (descant recorder or flageolet) to illustrate the 'merry note' of the 'sweet bird's throat'. The song was originally sung by the tenor Thomas Lowe who, as Amiens, also sang 'Blow, blow thou winter wind'. This second piece, which is strophic and in simple binary form, has, through its direct syllabic setting, a wonderfully defiant mood. Following a tradition already established in *Love in a Forest* Arne set just the first six lines of each stanza, omitting the burden beginning 'Heigh-ho, sing heigh-ho'. The third song, Arne's setting of the Spring stanzas from *Love's Labour's Lost*, was also known as 'the Cuckow Song'.[15] It was introduced into the fourth act as part of the mocking of lovers. Following references to men's infidelity, the song, which includes as part of its refrain:

> Cuckoo, cuckoo, O word of fear!
> Unpleasing to a married ear.

seems aptly introduced. Like 'Blow, blow thou winter wind' it is strophic and in simple binary form. No great demands are made on the singer in this pleasant, if fairly straightforward, setting. In addition to the usual violins and continuo a flute is required. As well as doubling the first violin when the voice is silent, it is used simply and effectively to echo the singer's unaccompanied 'Cuckow's.

Evidence from promptbooks, single-sheet songs and advertisements suggests that Arne's three settings were popular through to the end of the eighteenth century. The Cuckow song was a particular favourite, and was published separately a number of times in the second half of the eighteenth century.[16] It is interesting that the song was sung sometimes by Rosalind and sometimes by Celia. For example, as already noted, the Bell edition assigns it to Rosalind whereas Mrs Clive, who first sang this number, took the part of Celia.[17] Who sang the song seems simply to have depended on which actress had the better singing voice. A Drury Lane promptbook dating from the mid to late 1770s, and based on the Bell 1773 edition, indicates clearly where the song should be introduced 'If Celia Sings the Song'.[18]

It is clear, too, from these sources that 'Then is there mirth in heaven' was also sung up until the end of the century. Which setting was used has proved a bit of a puzzle. Caulfield published a version in the early nineteenth century supposedly by Thomas Arne, an attribution that has been thought erroneous.[19] The composer's identity remains unknown, but the song is indeed an eighteenth-century one, though probably not originating from as early as the 1740s. It was published in the second volume of *Vocal Music or the Songster's Companion* (pp 6-7), where it is marked 'Sung by Mrs BADDELEY in AS YOU LIKE IT'.[20] Mrs Baddeley took the role of Celia at Drury Lane between 1767 and 1776. In the Dublin 1741 and Bell 1773 editions of the play Hymen is omitted as a character, and the song 'Then is there mirth in heaven', which accompanies the entrance of Rosalind and Celia in women's clothes, is not assigned to any specific person. It would seem that Mrs Baddeley sang this song in her role as Celia - as also the Cuckow song. Later in the century an additional singer was brought in to sing this piece.[21] In *Vocal Music or the Songster's Companion* the music is unaccompanied: in Caulfield's edition there is an accompaniment. Discrepancies in word underlay, and some significant melodic variants, suggest that Caulfield's source was different. Given that we now know this piece is an eighteenth-century one, possibly originating from the 1760s, I am inclined to suggest the question of Arne's authorship should be reconsidered.[22]

Finally, a situation noted by Gooch and Thatcher, but not properly examined, needs clarification. There is a publication by Harrison and Co. [*c*1785] of Arne's music in *As You Like It* which includes his setting of 'Tell me where is fancy bred', the lyrics of which are from *The Merchant of Venice*.[23] Gooch and Thatcher, although noting that Arne's 'Tell me where is fancy bred' was originally sung in performances of *Twelfth Night*, inform us of Charles Cudworth's suggestion that this song's inclusion in the Harrison publication implies it was inserted into a performance of *As You Like It* at this time.[24] It is important to realise that the Harrison collections of music from individual plays are not historical records of specific productions, but are compilations of music which may have been used during a play's performance history. They are not reliable primary sources. At the same time as preparing the volume of songs from *As You Like It* Harrison was also working on the music for *Twelfth Night*. As just mentioned, Arne's 'Tell me where is fancy bred' was originally introduced into *Twelfth Night*, though by the time of Harrison's publication it was no longer associated with that play. It would seem that 'Tell me where is fancy bred' was simply put into the wrong volume.

The Comedy of Errors

The Comedy of Errors, Shakespeare's most farcical play, attracted the attention of a number of adaptors during the eighteenth century. Several different versions of the play reached the stage, though only Thomas Hull's alteration could boast any lasting success. *The Comedy of Errors* is unique in Shakespeare's canon as the only play not to contain any musical cues. As we shall see, it did not remain without music in the eighteenth century.

The earliest version of *The Comedy of Errors* to concern us is a three-act farce by William Taverner entitled *Every Body Mistaken*. It was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 10, 12 and 13 March 1716.[1] Unfortunately, since it was not published, we know very little about this adaptation, and nothing about any music which may have been used. The next alteration of *The Comedy of Errors* was also unpublished. This anonymous work, entitled *See if you Like it; or, 'Tis all a Mistake*, was performed at Covent Garden on 9, 11, 14 October and 2 November 1734.[2] It was described in advertisements as a 'New Comedy in 2 Acts, intermixed with Songs, taken from Plautus and Shakespeare'.[3] Unfortunately, we have no means of ascertaining which songs were used in this adaptation.

Shakespeare's own version of the play was staged during just one season in the eighteenth century. This was in 1741 at Drury Lane, where five performances were given between 11 November and 10 December.[4] As already mentioned, Shakespeare's play lacks any musical cues, and there are no references to music in the advertisements for this production. Songs were mentioned, however, for the next adaptation of *The Comedy of Errors*. On 23 August 1743 an anonymous alteration entitled *The Ephesian Duke; or, Blunder upon Blunder, yet All's Right at Last* was performed at Fawkes and Pinchbeck's Great Theatrical Booth in West Smithfield.[5] The production claimed: 'the Songs by the best Singers; and the Dances by the best Dancers, to and from the Theatres-Royal'.[6] This version, too, was unpublished, and once again it is impossible to determine what music was used. It has also been suggested that this production may have been a puppet show.[7]

The final adaptation to be considered, and the only successful one of the time, is that by Thomas Hull. It was performed at Covent Garden most years during the final two decades of the century, and well into the following one, but it had a tentative start. Entitled *The Twins*, it received a single performance on 24 April 1762.[8] Hogan suggests that Hull may have been considering a revival of the play when he had it privately printed in 1770.[9] It was not until 1779, however, that the play, resuming the title *The Comedy of Errors*, returned to the stage.[10] This time it was there to stay.

Essentially Hull's alteration does not differ much from Shakespeare's original. Minor modifications, cuts and occasional re-writing of speeches are evident, rather than whole-scale addition, or omission, of characters and sub-plots.[11] A revised edition of Hull's play was published in 1793.[12] The variations between this and the earlier publication of 1770 are not substantial, though there is one difference of particular interest. In the 1793 edition over fifty new lines, and two stanzas of a song, have been added prior to the start of the second scene in the third act. In Shakespeare's play at this point Luciana chides Antipholus of Syracuse (mistaking him for his twin brother) for

making obvious his disinterest in Adriana, her sister and his (supposed) wife. Shakespeare does not specify the setting of this particular scene; in Hull's version it is placed in a garden. Luciana and Antipholus are initially joined by Adriana and her cousin Hermia, the one new character added by Hull. Adriana, distraught at Antipholus's lack of attention, asks him what she has done to deserve such coldness. A song is introduced after Adriana's speech:

> It cannot be,
> But that some phrenzy hath possest his mind,
> Else could he not with cold indifference hear
> His Adriana pleading. - Music's voice
> O'er such entranced dispositions
> Hath oft' a magic power, and can recall
> The wand'ring faculties. Good cousin Hermia,
> Assay those melting strains, wherewith, thou told'st me,
> Forsaken Julia labour'd to retrieve
> Lysander's truant heart.

The words of the song, an alluring plea to Antipholus not to desert his wife, are as follows:

> Stray not to those distant plains;
> From thy comfort do not rove,
> Tarry in these peaceful glens,
> Tread the downy paths of love:
> Is not this sequester'd shade
> Richer than the proud alcove?
> Tarry in this beauteous glade,
> Tarry here with me and love.
>
> Listen to the woodlark's note,
> Listen to the cooing dove,
> Hark! the throstle's mellow throat,
> All uniting, carrol love:
> See the limpid brooks around,
> Winding through the varied grove;
> This is passion's fairy ground,
> Tarry here with me and love.

Although its dramatic function was carefully contrived, the song was introduced principally in order to show off a singer, and to entertain the audience.[13] It is clear from advertisements that this song, though not in the 1770 printed edition, was already present when Hull's adaptation made its impact on 22 January 1779. The majority of performances of Hull's play for the remainder of the century were advertised as containing 'In act III a song in character'.[14] For the first ten years the singer who monopolised this position was Mrs Kennedy.[15]

Fortunately, a setting of Hull's required song survives. A single sheet song entitled 'Tarry here with me and love' (the refrain) was printed in 1780.[16] We are informed: 'Sung by M^{rs}. Kennedy in the Comedy of ERRORS Composed by M^{r}. Dibdin'.[17] An eight-bar introduction in three parts (presumably two violins and continuo) is followed by an inoffensive song of moderate virtuosity and limited harmonic vocabulary. The very fact of its publication, and continued mention in the advertisements (though without the composer's name), however, are testimony to its popularity and theatrical success.

Mrs Kennedy died in January 1793[18] and her role in *The Comedy of Errors* was taken over by Mrs Clendining, who continued in this part until the penultimate performance of the play in the century.[19] Mrs Clendining is also named as the singer in the 1793 printed edition of the Hull adaptation. However, this edition notes the composer not as Dibdin, but as Michael Arne. At first sight it might simply seem that Arne wrote a different setting of Hull's lyrics for this new singer. However, Michael Arne had died in 1786.[20] Gooch and Thatcher suggest that the song was originally written for the single performance of the play on 4 April 1762, and then revived for performances from 1793 onwards.[21] There are three problems with this argument. First, Arne's earliest known London theatrical contributions, two songs for *The Shepherd's Artifice*, date from 1764, two years later than the proposed date of composition for his *Comedy of Errors* song.[22] Second, there is no mention in the advertisements for the performance on 4 April 1762 of any song or singer. Third, if the song had already been written in the play in 1762 it would surely have been present in the privately printed 1770 edition of the play (which it is not). Unfortunately, Arne's setting does not survive. Assuming he did set Hull's lyrics, I would suggest the song was composed sometime between 1779 and 1783, years during which Michael Arne is known to have been actively involved as a composer at the Covent Garden theatre.[23]

One final point about Hull's adaptation requires clarification. As printed in the 1770 and 1793 editions, the play is in five acts. However, Odell comments: 'After a few years it was superseded by a three-act version'.[24] He does not state for how many years this three-act version was performed, and the date given for the first of these performances, 3 April 1790, is one on which the play was not performed.[25] No copies of a three-act adaptation survive, and no reference is made to it by Hogan. The *London Stage*, however, comments that the performance of the play at Covent Garden on 18 May 1792 was in three acts.[26] Although not explicitly stated, the implication from the index to the final part of the *London Stage* is that all subsequent performances of the play were in three acts.[27]

An examination of contemporary newspapers reveals that there was indeed a three-act reduction of Hull's adaptation. The earliest performance of this version in fact occurred on 16 March 1789. Although the advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* on 16 March itself makes no reference to the number of acts, the same paper of two days earlier, Saturday 14 March, announced: 'On Monday (in Three Acts) Shakespear's COMEDY of ERRORS'. Similar advertisements can be found for almost all the performances of the play up to, and including, 18 May 1792. Often, as in the first case cited, the reference to three acts is found in an advertisement prior to that on the actual day of performance. Odell's mistaken comment concerning a performance on 3 April 1790 arises from the fact that the announcement of the three-act version of *The Comedy of Errors* on 7 April 1790 was made in *The Diary; or, Woodfield's Register* on Saturday 3 April. None of the advertisements for this three-act adaptation makes any reference to a singer or a song. Given the fairly consistent advertising of a song in connection with the five-act form of the play it seems safe to assume that Hermia's song was omitted in this reduced version of Hull's adaptation.

There can be no question that the five-act version was restored in 1793. As already noted, a revised edition of the play was printed in that year, and the advertisements once again resume their

reference to the third-act song. Mrs Clendining, who is listed in the advertisements as the singer for three of the five performances in 1793 (and most performances subsequently), is named in the 1793 edition of the play. Furthermore, the *Public Advertiser* for 15 April 1793 describes that day's performance of the play at Covent Garden as 'for the 1st time these six years'. The three-act version had in fact been playing at that theatre for each of the previous five years. The advertisement can only make sense if it refers to the restored, complete version of Hull's adaptation.[28]

As previously stated, Hull's adaptation continued to be performed well into the nineteenth century. There were other late eighteenth-century adaptations of Shakespeare's play, such as W. Wood's *The Twins*, printed in Edinburgh in 1780, and J. P. Kemble's *Oh! it's impossible* performed in York that same year.[29] None of these is known to have been performed in London.[30]

Cymbeline

Cymbeline is one of the few Shakespeare plays whose relative popularity in the eighteenth century was vastly different to that of recent times. Today there are no commercially available audio or video cassettes of the play, and it is rarely produced: in the second half of the eighteenth century *Cymbeline* ranked among the top ten of Shakespeare's plays.[1] There were some six adaptations and numerous settings of the songs during the eighteenth century, though fewer than half of these reached the stage.

In this play music is used in three places, and in three different ways. The first is a serenade in the second act. The rather uncouth Cloten tries to impress Imogen through music, and orders musicians to wake her with the song 'Hark, hark the lark'. The innocent lyrics are in stark contrast to Cloten's somewhat obscene remarks both before and after the song. Imogen features at the centre of the next use of music, though disguised as the boy Fidele and thought to be dead. Here, in the fourth act, Shakespeare calls for solemn music and then a dirge. There is some dispute over whether the latter, which begins 'Fear no more the heat o' th' sun', was originally sung or spoken. Although labelled 'Song' it is preceded by the following dialogue:

> Arviragus (=Cadwal): And let us, Polydore, though now our voices
> Have got the mannish crack, sing him to th' ground,
> As once to our mother: use like note and words,
> Save that Euriphile must be Fidele.
>
> Guiderius (=Polydore): Cadwal,
> I cannot sing: I'll weep, and word it with thee,
> For notes of sorrow out of tune are worse
> Than priests and thanes that lie.
>
> Arviragus: We'll speak it then.[2]

The earliest extant version of this play is the First Folio text of 1623. Consequently, J. M. Nosworthy suggests that, rather than recording Shakespeare's original intentions, this dialogue 'reflects a stage in the company's history when the breaking of an actor's voice made the substitution of the [sung] for the [spoken] word a temporary necessity'.[3] The final call for music is in the fifth act. Solemn music is required to create the appropriate eerie atmosphere for the ghostly apparitions that visit the sleeping Posthumus. In addition, it should be noted that, since the play contains military episodes, there are a number of places where trumpet calls and alarums could easily be inserted.

The first four decades of the eighteenth century saw performances not of Shakespeare's original *Cymbeline* but of an adaptation by Thomas D'Urfey. This was published in 1682 and probably first performed by March of that year.[4] The 1682 printed edition gives the play two different titles: *The Injur'd Princess, or The Fatal Wager* and *The Unequal Match; or, The Fatal Wager*. When the play was revived at Lincoln's Inn Fields in September and October 1702, however, it was called *Cymbeline* [also *Cimbeline*], *King of Brittain, the Great Protector of his Country*.[5] D'Urfey's play is an almost complete rewriting of Shakespeare's. The names of most of the characters, though not of Cymbeline, have been changed, and few lines of the original remain intact.

A couple of minor incidents are omitted and others added, such as the blinding of Pisanio. Otherwise, D'Urfey follows Shakespeare's plan quite closely.[6]

D'Urfey's musical requirements are minimal. Some trumpet calls are cued in the final act, but Posthumus's dream sequence is omitted, and Fidele is given no dirge. The only original call for music which remains is the serenade ordered by Cloten. No lyrics are supplied in the 1682 edition, but we read the instruction 'Flutes and a Song here'. When Cloten hears that Eugenia (=Imogen) has woken, he orders 'The Dance, the Dance'. We have no information to identify which dance was performed, but the song survives. Opening with the words 'The Larks awake the drowzy morn', it was first published in D'Urfey's *A New Collection of Songs and Poems* (London, 1683) and later in the second volume of *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* (London, 1719).[7] It was set to music by Simon Pack, an amateur musician who composed a number of songs for plays in the 1680s but whose main career lay in the army.[8] Pack's setting, which survives only as a single-line melody, is a little bizarre, with phrases of irregular length and a tune that frequently loses direction. D'Urfey's words are a little less fanciful than Shakespeare's, and a second stanza is provided referring to the lover himself.[9]

Shakespeare's original play was revived at the Haymarket theatre in 1744 but saw only one performance.[10] Unfortunately, we know little about this production, and nothing about any music used. *Cymbeline* was next staged two years later at the Covent Garden theatre. There were just two performances, on 7 and 10 April 1746.[11] For this production we lack information about any setting of 'Hark, hark the lark', but learn that the dirge was 'set new by Mr Boyce', and sung by John Beard in the character of Arviragus. Boyce's composition survives in manuscript at the Bodleian Library, Oxford.[12] Scored for tenor voice with two violins, continuo, oboe and bassoon, it is a strophic work; each of the three stanzas beginning 'Fear no more' is set with just minor musical differences between them. The only significant textual changes occur in the first stanza where 'Fear no more the heat o' th' sun' becomes 'Fear no more the schorching [*sic*] sun', and 'lowest Peasants' replaces 'chimney-sweepers' in the sixth line.[13] The piece is in G minor (with an erroneous additional Ab in the opening key signature, though not subsequently) and, although there are one or two impassioned leaps to a top G, the text is set fairly simply and syllabically, as befits a solemn dirge.

After this brief revival of the original, *Cymbeline* was once again adapted; it was in altered form that the play continued to be acted to the end of the century. There was a gap of thirteen years between Covent Garden's staging of Shakespeare's play in 1746 and its championing of a new adaptation by William Hawkins. During this time, however, Charles Marsh also prepared a version of this play which, according to the title-page of the printed edition, 'was agreed to be Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden'.[14] In his preface Marsh explains how he came to write his alteration, some time after the summer of 1752, and how, despite a number of readings, it failed to be staged: the dramatis personae lists the actors who rehearsed the parts. Marsh's adaptation retains considerably more of Shakespeare's words than does D'Urfey's, but there are omissions and various changes; Marsh's principal concern was for all the action to take place in Britain. On the musical front very little remains. Cloten's serenade scene is completely cut, as is Posthumus's dream

sequence. The dirge is also absent, though Fidele's death is signalled, as in the original, by 'Solemn Musick'.

Hawkins' adaptation is more radical than Marsh's. Besides restricting all the action to Britain, Hawkins drastically reduces the time span to two consecutive days. As a result certain events have already occurred and are merely reported. Where possible, Shakespeare's original lines have been retained but, necessarily, rather large sections are completely new.[15] Hawkins adds trumpet calls and flourishes in the battle scenes, which now occur in the fourth act, but Cloten's serenade and Posthumus's dream sequence are both omitted. The dirge for Fidele, and the preceding call for 'Solemn music', are, however, present. Since the queen is missing from this adaptation, having already died, the reason for Fidele taking the sleeping draught is now rather contrived. The potion is given, deliberately, by Philario (=Pisanio) in order to test Fidele/Imogen and determine her innocence.

We learn from the printed edition of Hawkins' play that the dirge was 'Set by Mr ARNE, sung by Mr LOWE'.[16] Arne's composition was published in his collection *The Winter's Amusement*.[17] Set for tenor voice, the rather unusual accompaniment comprises two violins, figured bass continuo, and two muted horns (written in baritone, F_3, clef). Hawkins' text is both more compressed, and contains more changes from the original, than that set by Boyce. The words are:

Fear no more the heat o' th' sun,
Nor the furious winter's blast;
Thou thy wordly task hast done,
And the dream of life is past.
Golden lads and girls all must
Follow thee, and come to dust.

Fear no more the frown o' th' great,
Death doth mock the tyrant foe;
Happiest is the early fate,
Misery with time doth grow.
Monarchs, sages, peasants must
Follow thee, and come to dust.

No exorciser harm thee!
No spell of witchcraft charm thee!
Grim ghost unlaid forbear thee!
The fairy elves be near thee!
Quiet consummation have,
Unremoved be thy grave.

Arne sets the first two stanzas strophically, though with a number of melodic differences between the strophes. Starting in G major, there is a brief modulation to D major at the end of the fourth line, though the following lines are back in the home key. The words are presented in a straightforward syllabic manner, with just a leap to a top G to emphasise first 'furious' and then 'mock'. The final stanza is marked by a complete change of texture in the accompaniment, with the horns silent and the violins playing repeated semiquavers, a different speed - Andante instead of Largo - and a plunge into

E minor. For the final two lines, however, the original tempo, instrumentation and key are all restored.

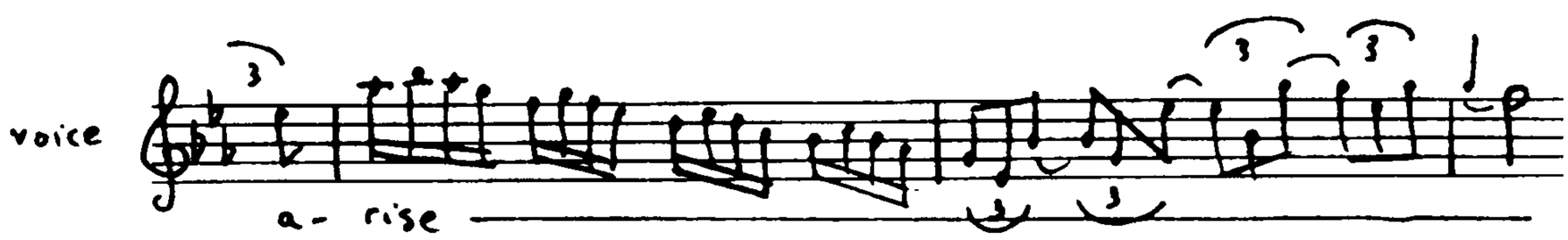
Hawkins' adaptation met with little success, seeing six performances between 15 and 22 February 1759, with one final performance on 19 April.[18] When *Cymbeline* was next performed in London two and a half years later, it was in a different altered form and at a different theatre. On 28 November 1761 Drury Lane presented a version of Shakespeare's play that was to hold the stage for the remainder of the century.[19] The author of this adaptation was David Garrick.

Garrick's *Cymbeline* is the closest to Shakespeare's original of all the adaptations. Little is added, and most of the alteration involves cuts and the re-ordering of scenes. Individual words are frequently changed, but there is no drastic rewriting of the play.[20] Musically it is quite interesting. Garrick not only restores Cloten's serenade in the second act but, taking his cue from D'Urfey's play and seeing the possibility of a little spectacle, Garrick adds a masquerade dance. In the fourth act, perhaps surprisingly then, the dirge is not sung. As usual, Fidele's apparent death is signalled by 'Solemn Musick', but the body is laid to rest with a very truncated form of the dirge. What is unusual, though, is that the six lines which are spoken come not from Shakespeare's original but from Hawkins' adaptation (as set by Arne). However, whereas the opening four lines are those of the first stanza, the final two lines are the concluding couplet of the second stanza:

> Fear no more th' Heat o' th' Sun,
> Nor the furious Winters Blast;
> Thou thy wordly Task hast done,
> And the Dream of Life is past.
> Monarchs, Sages, Peasants must
> Follow thee, and come to Dust.

This seems to suggest that Garrick may have considered having these lines sung. The only other call for music is a 'March at a Distance' to open the fifth act. Like all other adaptors Garrick omitted Posthumus's dream scene.

Although we do not know what was used either for the solemn music or the march, we do have some music for 'Hark, hark the lark'. This is a setting by Theodore Aylward, which was headed 'Sung by M[rs] Vincent, in Cymbeline' and published in his collection *Six Songs in Harlequin's Invasion, Cymbeline, and Midsummer Night's Dream...*[1765].[21] In contrast to the dirge, the serenade calls for a little virtuosity, which is what Aylward provides. Mrs Isabella Vincent, for whom Aylward wrote the piece, was an accomplished singer, as is clear, for example, at the second occurrence of the word 'arise':



Ex. 1: Aylward 'Hark, hark the lark' bars 17-20.

The setting is a joyful one, with semiquaver flourishes in the accompaniment (presumably two violins, with figured bass continuo) adding extra interest. For the final two lines, beginning 'with everything that pretty is', things hot up and we change metre and tempo for an exciting triple-time 'Spiritoso' close.

As already mentioned, 'Hark, hark the lark' was followed by a masquerade dance. Although we know neither the name of the composer nor the title of the dance itself, we are informed of the principal dancers' names: Grimaldi, Vincent, Giorgi, Lochery, Miss Dawson, Signora Giorgi.[22] The masquerade was clearly a major diversion in the play.

Although there were two further alterations of *Cymbeline* (by Henry Brooke in 1778 and Ambrose Eccles in 1793) neither of these was specifically intended for the stage, and Garrick's alteration continued to be acted until the end of the century. Advertisements indicate that for most of these productions the diversions of the second act continued to play a prominent part. Unfortunately, whereas the singer of the serenade is frequently named, the composer is usually not. We know certainly of only two other settings of 'Hark, hark the lark' that were used in the theatre. The first of these was composed by François-Hippolyte Barthélemon. It was advertised as being sung by Mrs Suett at the Drury Lane performance of 27 April 1771.[23] Unfortunately, the music is no longer extant. The second is a glee by Benjamin Cooke. This was first advertised for the performance at Drury Lane on 1 February 1787, though a glee had been sung at Covent Garden on 6 January the previous year.[24] (It is quite possible that it was Cooke's glee that Covent Garden used, though the advertisements fail to give us the relevant details.) Cooke's piece, marked 'Siciliana' and scored for unaccompanied soprano, alto, tenor and bass voices, is an uncomplicated and pleasant enough work.[25] It was certainly popular, for it seems to have been used in all further *Cymbeline* productions until the start of the next century.

It is quite probable that other settings of 'Hark, hark the lark' were also used on the stage. For example, for the performance of *Cymbeline* at Drury Lane on 3 January 1784 the advertisements expressly indicate 'a New Song'.[26] However, we simply lack details to speculate on which other composers' works were used. It is also puzzling that the masquerade scene was sometimes advertised as being in the first act, and sometimes in the third, whereas it properly belongs in the second.

Before leaving Garrick's alteration it is important to mention the dirge for Fidele. As already noted, this is virtually absent from Garrick's version of the play, with just six lines being spoken. On at least one occasion, though, it seems that it was sung. For the performance of *Cymbeline* at Covent Garden on 18 November 1793 we learn 'Arviragus (with a Song) - Townsend'.[27] Which setting of the dirge he sang, however, remains unclear.

Finally, there is an alternative version of Fidele's dirge that needs to be considered. This is the one beginning 'To fair Fidele's grassy tomb', which was written by William Collins and first printed in 1744.[28] At least eleven eighteenth-century composers set these words to music, starting with Thomas Arne, whose setting was published in 1746 in the second volume of *Lyric Harmony*.[29] I am puzzled by the popularity of this dirge, especially as there is no evidence that it was ever used in any performance on the London stage.

Love's Labour's Lost

Love's Labour's Lost has the unique distinction of being the only Shakespeare play never to have been acted during the eighteenth century. Indeed, there is no record of a performance of the play from 1605 until 1839.[1] Nevertheless, during this period there were several attempts to make the play stage-worthy, and three very different adaptations survive from the eighteenth century. Two of these are well known to scholars, the third less so.

The Students is the title of an anonymous adaptation of *Love's Labour's Lost* printed for Thomas Hope in London in 1762. The title-page states 'Adapted to the STAGE', but the work seems never to have been performed. A certain number of Shakespeare's lines have been kept intact in this alteration, and the characters retain their original names. However, most of the reflective speeches have been cut, as are the characters Holofernes and Nathaniel. There is some rearrangement of scenes and the omission both of the Muscovite episode and of the play of the nine worthies. Jaquenetta becomes one of the Princess's ladies, and most of the characters are somewhat debased. Berowne is the most affected, disguising himself as another Costard and appropriating some of Costard's lines, as well as causing additional confusion.[2] Predictably, in this version 'Jack hath his Jill' at the end. Musically, Moth is still required to sing the non-sensical 'Concolinel' (now in the second act), though this is shortly followed by his singing the 'Spring' stanzas of 'When Daisies Pied'. In the final act the entertainment arranged by Don Adriano is a 'Comic Dance' by 'antic figures'.

Music plays a much more prominent part in the next extant eighteenth-century adaptation of *Love's Labour's Lost*. This is an operatic version, made by Captain Edward Thompson at Garrick's prompting. We know this from a letter written by Thompson to Garrick in the summer of 1773:

> In consequence of your recommendation, I have already altered Love's Labour's Lost to an opera - I think so pruned it will do - it is better gutted of it's quaint sayings & puerilities - and as an opera - the rhymes are not offensive.[3]

Using an interleaved 1735 Tonson edition Thompson kept close to the original play, adding few lines and omitting relatively few, though the whole scene of the nine worthies was cut.[4] The play is not sentimentalised, and the original ending is retained. Thompson added twenty-one airs, all of which comprise lines taken directly, or lightly paraphrased, from the original.[5] The singing is not restricted to two or three characters; Thompson requires virtually the entire cast to sing: Princess, Maria, Boyet, King, Berowne, Dumain, Longaville, Armado, Moth, Holofernes, Nathaniel and Costard. No singer, however, is assigned to the final song 'When Daisies Pied', which may have been intended as a concluding ensemble number.

Thompson's operatic version was clearly never quite completed. A note on the leaf inserted opposite the 'Dramatis Personae' states: 'I have not divided it into three Acts - I waited your opinion first'. Also, Moth's 'Concolinel' is signalled with the remark 'I shall here compose an Air for Moth'. There is, in addition, no evidence that any of Thompson's airs was set to music. Why this operatic

version was abandoned remains a mystery. Holding suggests that it was probably due to a major falling out between Thompson and Garrick.[6]

The third extant eighteenth-century adaptation of *Love's Labour's Lost* is one that is scarcely known to scholars.[7] It is an anonymous work, found in an interleaved copy of the 1777 Bell edition.[8] Many of Shakespeare's lines have been cut, and minor changes have been made to the remaining lines, principally to eradicate rhyme. There are, as well, substantial additional scenes, the function of which is to turn the play into a highly sentimental comedy. Speaking generally about sentimental comedy Bernbaum comments:

> The drama of sensibility ... wished to show that beings who were good at heart were found in the ordinary walks of life. It so represented their conduct as to arouse admiration for their virtues and pity for their sufferings.[9]

Thus, in this version Jaquenetta (now 'Jaquelina - a country maid innocent & sencible') and Costard are elevated from base to virtuous and heroic characters.[10] We learn how Costard risked his life to save Jaquelina, and how she values virtue 'Above the pomps & pleasures of the world'. Inevitably, it is their noble love which serves as the example for the two royal parties to wed at the end. It is interesting that of the three eighteenth-century alterations of *Love's Labour's Lost* this is the only one that actually supplies a text for Moth to sing instead of 'Concolinel'. It is not a new song, but 'When daffadils [*sic*] begin to peere' from *The Winter's Tale*.

Unfortunately, we know very little about the origins of this adaptation. I would surmise that it was written in the mid 1790s. When, in the final act, the King and his train arrive dressed as Russians there is the comment 'The inside of the Pantheon as it appeared before it was burnt'. This remark would lose relevance too many years after the event: the Pantheon burnt down in January 1792.[11] There is no evidence that this adaptation was ever performed.

Finally, although *Love's Labour's Lost* was not acted during the eighteenth century, its concluding song, 'When Daisies Pied', did attract the attention of two theatre composers. Whilst Richard Leveridge's song seems not to have been intended for the stage, Thomas Arne's setting of 'Spring', the opening two stanzas, became firmly established in performances of *As You Like It*.[12] His version of 'Winter', however, did not make its way into the theatre.[13]

Measure for Measure

Measure for Measure, whilst never a particularly popular play was, nevertheless, performed during all decades of the eighteenth century except the 1710s and 1760s. Whereas Shakespeare's play contains little of musical importance, its sole requirement being a single song, the century opened with an adaptation of *Measure for Measure* that is of great interest to music historians. For Charles Gildon's *Measure for Measure; or, Beauty the Best Advocate* was the vehicle whereby Purcell's opera *Dido and Aeneas* received its first (known) professional public performance.[1]

Gildon's adaptation was printed in 1700 and is believed to have been first performed that year.[2] Nearly forty years earlier William Davenant had written a version of *Measure for Measure* with material from *Much Ado About Nothing* entitled *The Law Against Lovers*.[3] Gildon's play shows some indebtedness to this work, such as setting the action in Turin and including the character Balthazar, as well as in minor episodes such as Claudio asking Isabella to look after Julietta, and Angelo offering Isabella jewels. Also, like Davenant, Gildon stripped his play of the low-life characters. In other respects, however, the two works are quite different. Gildon's version is closer to Shakespeare's and concentrates particularly on the relationships between Angelo and Isabella, and Claudio and Julietta.[4] They are all given additional lines and scenes, and their characters are made less complicated and more extreme. For example, Claudio and Julietta are in fact legally married, though for reasons of protecting Julietta's dowry, this is kept secret. Similarly, Angelo too was married, privately, to Mariana, but abandoned her when her brother's ship, with her fortune, sank.

Gildon's play was written at a time when the inclusion of masques in straight drama was at its height. Nevertheless, it is unusual in the way that Gildon tried to integrate the opera as fully as possible into the play.[5] The opera, now labelled 'The Loves of Dido and AEneas, a Mask', is divided into four entertainments, which occur in the first, second, third and fifth acts. The fourth act, however, is not devoid of music for it contains the one musical event originally called for by Shakespeare, the song 'Take, oh take those lips away'. The entertainments are called for by Escalus 'In hopes to Melt, and sweeten his [that is Angelo's] Sour Temper'.[6] Early on, however, Balthazar expresses doubts concerning the efficacy of the entertainments:

> How can this Sow'r Governour be pleas'd?
> With Musick, Shew, and Opera's; those
> Seldom please, where cruelty presides.

And indeed their effect on Angelo is not as intended.

The first entertainment occurs after Angelo's initial encounter with Isabella. Overwhelmed by desire for her he comments:

> I'll think no more on't, but with Musick chase
> Away the Guilty Image.
> Musick they say can Calm the ruffled Soul,
> I'm sure a mighty Tempest ruffles mine.

But the music can only inflame his passion. The prologue of the opera is deferred to provide a celebratory conclusion to the play, and the first entertainment opens with a situation that seems to parallel Angelo's. We are immediately presented with a tormented, love-torn Dido, to whom Belinda counsels:

> Shake the Cloud from off your Brow,
> Fate your Wishes does Allow;
> Empire Growing,
> Pleasures Flowing,
> Fortune Smiles, and so shou'd you.

How can Angelo not identify first with Dido, and then with the equally anguished Aeneas? And what does Belinda finally command? 'Pursue thy conquest, Love'. Angelo is being urged to transgress. No wonder he responds:

> This Musick is no Cure for my Distemper;
> For, every Note, to my Enchanted Ears,
> Seem'd to Sing only *Isabella*'s Beauty,
> Her Youth, her Beauty, and her Tender Pity
> Combine to ruin me!

Matters are not helped in the second entertainment. This occurs, again, after Angelo has discoursed with Isabella. The plot has moved on and Angelo has now offered Isabella a pardon for Claudio's life in exchange for her body. The entertainment which follows comprises two scenes which are in the opposite order to their position in the original opera. That is, the so-called Grove scene is now followed by the Witches' scene. In this way we are presented immediately with the consummation of Dido and Aeneas's love, the issue most prominent in Angelo's mind. Not until afterwards are we made aware of any evil, in the form of the witches and their trickery. And so, only at the end of the entertainment is the full extent of Angelo's wickedness made apparent:

> This Scene just hits my case; her Brothers danger,
> Is here the storm must furnish Blest Occasion;
> And when, my Dido, I've Posses'd thy Charms,
> I then will throw thee from my glutted Arms,
> And think no more on all thy soothing Harms.

Having the Witches' scene last means that the entertainment ends in an atmosphere of evil and with the storm, and consummation, seemingly yet to occur.

When the next entertainment starts Angelo has not spoken to Isabella again, but is waiting for her to return and give a response to his request. As the music begins, his design to abuse Isabella is immediately reflected in the Sorceress exhorting the Sailors to:

> Take a Bouze short; leave your Nymphs on the Shore,
> And silence their Mourning
> Wth Vows of returning,
> But never intending to visit them more.

At this point we are not yet aware that Angelo will renege on his promise to free Claudio, but this double-dealing is also hinted at in more of the Sorceress's words:

> From the Ruins of others our Pleasure we borrow:
> Elisa bleeds to Night, and Carthage flames to morrow.

So overwhelming has Angelo's passion become that the very beautiful and moving ending to Purcell's opera (as Dido dies) fails to touch him. On seeing Isabella approaching he can only comment:

> I so desire, that Force, if fair means fail,
> Must give me ease.

When we meet the final entertainment the play has, naturally, reached its happy denouement. The content of this diversion is quite unrelated to the tragedy of *Dido and Aeneas* although, as already mentioned, it is in fact the prologue to Purcell's opera. This originally had two sections, one exalting Venus and the second a pastoral dialogue praising love. To these has been added a third part, involving Mars and Peace, in which Peace triumphs. While the last two sections are more general celebrations of love and peace, the opening passage must be seen as praising the virtuous Isabella. She is now 'the new rising Star of the Ocean', 'A New Divinity' and 'the Soveraign Queen of Beauty'.[7] Given the totally different natures of Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* and Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, Gildon's merging of the two has been very cleverly managed: it is a pity that the play has not been staged in recent times.

There are a few substantial textual differences between the earliest surviving libretto of *Dido and Aeneas* and the text used by Gildon. His second entertainment contains an extra twenty-four lines in which two 'friends' debate with Aeneas over love and fame, reflecting Angelo's own inner conflict, and, as just noted, the fourth entertainment includes an additional dialogue of some thirty lines between Mars and Peace.[8] In neither case does any music survive for these texts. *Dido and Aeneas* is unusual among Purcell's major theatrical works for its dearth of contemporary sources, and none of the manuscripts of the opera, all of which date from the mid to late eighteenth century, contains a setting of the prologue at all.[9] Dido's 'Ah Belinda' was, however, published in *Orpheus Britannicus* in 1698, and the so-called Magdalene partbooks contain four-part instrumental settings of 'Fear no danger' and the prelude to the third act of *Dido and Aeneas*.[10] These partbooks are believed to have been copied in the first decade of the eighteenth century.[11] In addition, there are two other early eighteenth-century publications, thought to date from no later than *c*1704, linking Purcell's music to *Measure for Measure*. The first is a single voice setting of 'Fear no danger' found in *TWO CATCH'S for Three VOICES Set by M^r^ Willis. also A SONG in y^e^ Play call'd Measure for Measure set by M^r^ Henry Purcell*.[12] The second is a single sheet song entitled 'The Saylors Song ... Sung by Mr Wiltshire, in the play call'd *Measure for Measure*'.[13] A lightly marked promptbook of Gildon's *Measure for Measure*, now at the Folger Shakespeare Library, confirms Wiltshire's part in the play and suggests he may have taken the role of the Sorceress.[14] We do not know who the other singers were.

In addition to Purcell's opera it seems that other music also was used in productions of Gildon's *Measure for Measure*. In the Newberry Library, Chicago, there exists a set of act tunes composed by John Eccles 'in y^e^ Play: Measure for Measure'.[15] It comprises an overture followed by

six binary-form movements and finally 'A new Scotch Ground', all in the key of G major. The Newberry source contains parts for first and second trebles and bass; a tenor part is lacking. Full parts for four of the eight pieces, however, can be found in the Magdalene partbooks.[16] Roger Fiske suggests that Eccles may have been responsible too for setting the additional text inserted into Purcell's opera.[17] There also survives a dance called 'Measure for Measure', which was first published in *Twenty Four NEW COUNTRY DANCES for the Year 1716* (London: Walsh and Hare [1715]) no 20. This single-line melody was later published in the second volume of *The Dancing Master* (3rd edition, London: W. Pearson, 1718) 323. Whether or not it was used in a performance of the play (possibly that of 26 April 1706) remains unclear: *Measure for Measure* was not acted between 1706 and 1720.

Finally, there is extant an early eighteenth-century setting of 'Take, oh take those lips away' composed by John Weldon.[18] Although crucial for the resolution of the drama, Mariana is a character little developed in Shakespeare's play, and with relatively few lines to speak. When we first meet her, which is not until the start of the fourth act, she is introduced through music. The act opens with a boy (in Gildon's play 'The Maid') singing 'Take, oh take those lips away'. The song is intended to convey Mariana's deep-seated, and undiminished, love for Angelo and her continued mourning for his abandonment of her. Weldon's setting is suitably melancholic. The first four lines of the six-line stanza are set in an indulgent arioso style, with pauses on or after key words and a slightly bizarre flourish on 'break' in 'break of Day'. In contrast, the final two lines are resolutely set in a brisk duple time, echoing the desire 'But my kisses bring again'. This leads to a long climax on the word 'love', which the voice holds on a top F# for over four bars, before a suitably deflated ending for 'tho seal'd in vain'. Although we have no direct evidence linking Weldon's expressive setting with a theatrical production, it does seem probable that his song was used in performances of Gildon's play.

Information is lacking regarding the number of times Gildon's play was acted. The *London Stage* conjectures a very approximate première date, but has no details.[19] The existence of a promptbook, albeit only lightly marked, suggests more than one or two performances.[20] However, I can find no evidence to support the statement in the Cambridge edition of *Measure for Measure* that Gildon's play 'was so successful as to be given eight times'.[21] The only documented performance of *Measure for Measure* in London before 1720 was at the Queen's Theatre on 26 April 1706.[22] Unfortunately, it is unclear whether this was Gildon's or Shakespeare's version. However, the remark 'written by the famous Beaumont and Fletcher'[23] echoes the comment in the catalogue of plays appended to the 1701 edition of *Love's Victim*, which had referred to Gildon's play as being 'alter'd from *Beaumont* and *Fletcher*' (see also endnote 2).

From 1720 to the end of the century it was Shakespeare's original play that was staged.[24] As already noted, Shakespeare's one musical requirement in the play is the song 'Take, oh take those lips away'. At least fourteen settings of this text were composed during the eighteenth century, eleven of them after 1770.[25] Several of these contain a second stanza, beginning 'Hide, oh hide those hills of snow', which originates from John Fletcher's play *The Bloody Brother; or, Rollo*.[26] None of these settings, however, was used on the stage. This is evident not just from the lack of theatrical mention

in the publication details of these songs, but particularly because the Bell 1773 and Kemble 1795 acting editions of the play clearly show that the song was omitted. When the song was first cut remains unclear. In the only earlier acting edition of the play, printed by Tonson in 1722, lines left out in performance are indicated by single inverted commas.[27] These marks do not surround the song itself, but the following nine lines, which refer to the music, are marked for omission. This seems to suggest that the song, too, was probably cut. Perhaps the necessary virgolation is missing from the song because it is set in italic, rather than normal roman type: in setting a different font the relevant omission marks may simply have been overlooked. Certainly, there are no extant settings of 'Take, oh take those lips away' from this period (1720s), and no mention is made of a singer for this song in any theatrical advertisements throughout the century.

The Merchant of Venice

The Merchant of Venice was the most frequently performed of Shakespeare's comedies during the second half of the eighteenth century, and was also one performance short of being the joint most popular comedy for the entire century.[1] However, for the first four decades it was George Granville's adaptation, *The Jew of Venice* (published and first performed in 1701), that held the stage. Before examining Granville's play *The Jew of Venice* it is useful to consider the musical requirements of Shakespeare's original play.

As an indication of her great wealth, and humanity, music seems to be a perfectly natural part of Portia's household. In the fifth act soft music 'of the house' accompanies the reflections of Lorenzo and Jessica at Belmont, and also welcomes back Portia and Nerissa.[2] In the third act a song provides the backdrop as Bassanio considers the caskets. Portia commands:

> Let music sound while he doth make his choice,
> Then if he lose he makes a swan-like end,
> Fading in music.[3]

Music is present, too, in a more formal capacity. There are cornet flourishes in the second act to announce the arrival of the two suitors, the princes of Morocco and Arragon; in the final act a tucket signals the return of Portia's husband.

Music is used rather differently in *The Jew of Venice*. Although Shakespeare's language is recognisable in this alteration, little of his writing has been left untouched. Many lines have been added, and others omitted; Shylock is degraded, whilst Bassanio, originally played by Betterton, is given a more prominent part.[4] There are some minor musical changes. Bassanio's choosing of the casket is accompanied by 'soft Musick' rather than a song, and there are no flourishes or tuckets. Also, music in the final act is actively called for to celebrate the happy reunion of all the characters, rather than being passively present at their return:

> *Por[tia]*: Play all our Instruments of Musick there,
> Let nothing now be heard but sounds of Joy,
> And let those glorious Orbs that we behold,
> Who in their Motions, all like Angels sing,
> Still Quiring to the blew-ey'd Cherubims,
> Join in the Chorus; that in Heav'n and Earth
> One universal Tune may celebrate
> This Harmony of Hearts. Soft Stilness, and the Night
> Become the Touches of sweet Harmony.
> *Musick*[5]

A major change to the play, however, is the introduction of a masque into the second act.

The second scene of the second act is entirely new, showing Shylock at supper with Bassanio and Antonio. Music is present from the start of the scene, accompanying and sometimes interrupting the dialogue. After a series of toasts, each followed by 'Loud Musick', Bassanio gives what was originally Lorenzo's speech of V i 70-88 ('The Reason is, your Spirits are attentive...Let no such Man be trusted. - Mark the Musick.') This is immediately followed by the masque of *Peleus and Thetis*.

The masque is substantial, featuring four characters: Jupiter, Prometheus, Peleus and Thetis. Although the story of Peleus and Thetis has no direct parallel in the play, we are perhaps expected to see the lovers as representing Lorenzo and Jessica. Indeed, while the unsuspecting Shylock is watching the entertainment, his daughter and Lorenzo are eloping. If the masque is seen simply as a celebration of true love persevering and triumphing over adversity, a loose parallel can also be drawn between the mythological lovers and Bassanio and Portia.

Unfortunately, little detail survives concerning the composition and performance of the masque. It is thought that the play, *The Jew of Venice*, was first staged in December 1700, though this date is conjectural.[6] We know of thirty-nine subsequent performances between 1706 and 1739 before Shakespeare's original took over on 14 February 1741.[7] There was just one final performance of the play at Southwark on 31 October 1748.[8] Given the substantial nature of the music required, it is rather surprising that in not one instance in relation to these forty-one performances is there any reference to the masque. No composer is ever mentioned; the masque is never named; there is no indication of any singers; and none of the characters needed for the masque is ever listed. This lack of reference suggests that, certainly for the later performances of the play, the masque was omitted.[9]

No early eighteenth-century setting of *Peleus and Thetis* survives, though the masque was set independently by both William Boyce and William Hayes a few decades later.[10] Roger Fiske suggests that John Eccles may have been responsible for the original music, which seems a reasonable guess given Eccles' connection with Lincoln's Inn Fields at the time.[11] There is, however, no concrete evidence to support this hypothesis.

The settings of *Peleus and Thetis* by Boyce and Hayes are both substantial and discrete entertainments. We have little information on the dates of composition or performance of these masques, and there is no reason to believe that either was ever used in a stage production of *The Jew of Venice*. It seems that Hayes' masque was composed in or before 1749, since that is the date on the inside cover of a copy of the full score.[12] However, there are no records of any performances.[13] Boyce's *Peleus and Thetis*, however, was performed at the Swan Tavern in London on 29 April 1747.[14] Nevertheless, it had clearly been written by 1740 since a libretto, attributing the work to Boyce, survives from that date.[15] From a set of performing parts we also know that for some performances John Beard took the part of Peleus, and that Thetis was played on at least one occasion by Miss Turner, and on another by Signora Frasi.[16]

There is an important detail concerning the words of *Peleus and Thetis* that music scholars working in this field seem to have missed. The text set by Boyce, and also by Hayes, is significantly different from that printed in the 1701 edition of *The Jew of Venice*. It has been generally assumed that the 1701 text represents what was originally set, and that the text was revised for the benefit of later composers. For example, Ian Bartlett comments: 'Granville's somewhat vapid text of 1701...was modified for Boyce in order to facilitate the inclusion of additional da capo arias and to improve the weak ending'.[17] What Bartlett is unaware of is that this text had already been published in the second edition of *The Jew of Venice*, published by Tooke and Lintott, as early as 1713.[18] Indeed, the revised masque had appeared in Granville's *Poems upon Several Occasions*, published the

previous year. Significantly, whereas *Peleus and Thetis* is labelled 'A MASQUE' in the 1701 edition, in the 1713 edition (as in the 1712 *Poems*) it is headed 'A MASQUE, *Set to* Musick'. This suggests that the 1713 edition presents the masque as already set by its first composer, and that the text in the 1701 publication, as it stands, was not set.

When Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* was finally restored to the London stage on 14 February 1741, it was an immediate success. This was particularly due to Macklin's magnificent portrayal of Shylock.[19] As noted earlier, the play remained popular until the end of the century. Unfortunately, we do not know exactly what text Macklin used, since the first published acting text of the play is the Bell edition of 1773. The only other, different, eighteenth-century acting text is that of Kemble's production, published by C. Lowndes in 1797. In the absence of other information, we must assume that the Bell text represents, approximately, the version of *The Merchant of Venice* that played at London theatres from 1741 to 1797.[20]

The Bell and Kemble editions of *The Merchant of Venice* are essentially Shakespeare's play with a number of omissions.[21] Yet they also contain the lyrics of several additional songs. The Bell edition has three extra songs for Lorenzo and Jessica, two in the second act and one in the last. However, Shakespeare's own song 'Tell me where is fancy bred' has been cut. Bassanio's choosing of the casket is still accompanied by music, but without a song. This omission is all the more surprising given that Thomas Arne made a setting of 'Tell me where is fancy bred' at this time. This, however, was inserted into performances of *Twelfth Night* instead.[22] Although the words of 'Tell me where is fancy bred' were reinstated in the Kemble 1797 edition, a late eighteenth-century promptbook, annotated by Kemble himself, shows that the song was in fact omitted in performance.[23] Apart from Arne's composition, no eighteenth-century theatrical setting of these lyrics is known to survive.[24]

Thomas Arne was, however, responsible for the additional songs given to Lorenzo. The first of these, 'My bliss too long my bride denies', occurs in the second act. It is inserted between the two halves of II vi 25, before Lorenzo calls to Jessica at her window. The lyrics, expressing Lorenzo's desperate longing for Jessica, are in fact the final three stanzas of a seven-stanza poem thought possibly to be by Ambrose Philips.[25] The poem was first published in Steele's *Spectator* (no. 366) of 30 April 1712, and is reproduced here in Appendix B. The only change necessary for inclusion in *The Merchant of Venice* was the replacement of 'to Orra' with 'my Jesse' in the final line. The song, cast in simple binary form, is given a certain grace by the use of a lilting triple-time metre and the frequent occurrence of 4-3 suspensions in the vocal part. Of its insertion into the play Francis Gentleman made the following observation: 'The introduction of a song by Lorenzo, under Jessica's window, affords her more suitable time for change of dress, than the author has allowed, and is pleasing enough'.[26]

Lorenzo's second song,'To keep my gentle Jesse', is a more substantial setting, and the frequent melodic passing notes and suspensions also make this a charming, lyrical work. This song is placed between lines 68 and 69 of the opening scene of the final act, in lieu of the background music

called for at this point. The lyrics of the song, in which Lorenzo expresses his simple devotion to Jessica, have also been given here in Appendix B.

These two additional songs for Lorenzo were first published in the collection *The Songs and Duetto in the Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green...With the Favourite Songs, Sung by Mr Lowe, In The Merchant of Venice...* (London, [1741?]). Lowe first took the part of Lorenzo on 2 November 1741: 'in which character will be introduc'd songs proper to the play', so the advertisements confirm.[27] Lorenzo continued to be advertised 'with songs' until the end of the century, and it seems that Arne's two songs were normally used.

The third new song found in the Bell edition of *The Merchant of Venice* is for Jessica. It is inserted at the very end of the third scene of the second act, following her lines:

> O Lorenzo
> If thou keep promise I shall end this strife,
> Become a Christian and thy loving wife!

The lyrics, beginning 'Haste Lorenzo hither fly' (see Appendix B), simply reflect Jessica's impatience to run off with Lorenzo. The song was set by Joseph Baildon and is found in the second volume of his collection *The Laurel* (London, [1752]), where it is headed 'Sung by Mrs Chambers in the Character of Jessica in the Merchant of Venice'. It is a more virtuoso setting than Lorenzo's songs, full of trills and grace notes, and having two places marked 'Ad lib', for cadenzas. Mrs Chambers took the role of Jessica during her first season at Covent Garden, on 16 November 1751.[28]

The continued popularity of these additional songs is attested not just by advertisements but also by their presence in the Kemble 1797 version of *The Merchant of Venice*. Only Lorenzo's second song, 'To keep my gentle Jesse', is omitted. However, Kemble's edition also includes a new duet for these lovers. The final five lines of the third act are cut, and the act ends with a rousing musical number. The duet begins 'In vows of everlasting truth', with the lovers declaring their faithful love.[29] Kemble's production opened at Drury Lane on 2 November 1797, and Charles Dignum and Mrs Bland were the singers of this duet.[30] The music was composed by Thomas Shaw and published by Longman, Clementi and C° in London *c*1800.[31] This printed version is in full score, with parts for two horns, two flutes, two oboes, clarinet, bassoon and full strings.

In addition to those mentioned above, it seems that other songs were also introduced periodically into performances of *The Merchant of Venice*. For example, at Drury Lane on 22 March 1746 Miss Edwards was advertised as playing Jessica 'in which character will be introduced several new songs proper to the character'.[32] Unfortunately, we lack the details that would enable us to identify these pieces. Also, during Mrs Chambers' first season as Jessica she was advertised 'with songs adapted to the character'.[33] The following season, however, 'songs' became 'song' and, as discussed above, only one setting has come down to us.[34] Master Mattocks apparently sang during the first act of the play at Drury Lane on 20 October 1749, but neither the pieces nor the context can be identified.[35] Finally, at Covent Garden on 10 March 1746 John Beard played Lorenzo 'with the usual songs in character, likewise the song of Diana from Dryden's Secular Masque'.[36] Beard was particularly fond of this composition by Boyce, singing it at the pleasure gardens, and also performing

it three days later between the acts of *Much Ado About Nothing*.[37] The insertion of this hunting song into *The Merchant of Venice* must have been somewhat contrived, and there is no evidence to suggest that he sang it during the play on any other occasion.

The Merry Wives of Windsor

During the eighteenth century *The Merry Wives of Windsor* was also one of Shakespeare's more popular comedies - indeed the most frequently acted one for the first half of the century.[1] Except for one performance, the play was acted (as far as we can tell) more or less as Shakespeare's original. The ill-fated exception is an adaptation by John Dennis called *The Comical Gallant*, which was staged sometime in late February 1702.[2]

Music is required on three occasions in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, although two of these are rather slight. In the first instance Mistress Quickly, having just hidden Slender's servant Simple in a closet, sings as her master Caius arrives.[3] Although she is given the lyrics 'And down, down, adown-a, etc' the words Mistress Quickly sings are really irrelevant; it is simply the act of singing to feign innocent normality that is of importance here.[4] The second occasion for 'music' in the play is similar in that it also demands unaccompanied singing as a device for masking something else. In this case it is the Welsh parson Hugh Evans who sings, as he tries to hide his fear of an impending duel with Caius. Evans's agitated state is reflected not merely by the fact of his singing, but in his confusion of lyrics. Most of the words he sings, beginning 'To shallow rivers, to whose falls', are from Marlowe's song 'Come live with me and be my love'. Into this is introduced the opening line of a metrical version of Psalm 137 'Whenas we sat in Babylon'.[5] Marlowe's song was presumably well known in Shakespeare's day, thus making Evans's nervousness more apparent and comic than it would be to later audiences.

The final call for music occurs in the fifth act, where it is part of the illusion of a magical world. The presence of fairies (so the guilty Falstaff believes them to be) is intimated by a 'Noise of horns within'.[6] Then, as these fairies pinch and torment Falstaff they sing the song 'Fie on sinful fantasy'.[7] The words of this song make explicit to Falstaff the reasons for his punishment.

The earliest recorded performance of *The Merry Wives* in the eighteenth century is that of John Dennis's adapation *The Comical Gallant; or, The Amours of Sir John Falstaffe*.[8] Shakespeare's play had apparently had little success in the Restoration, and so Dennis justifies his adaptation: '[though] this Comedy is not so Despicable as to be Incapable of Improvement ... it is not so admirable, as not to stand in need of any'.[9] Dennis describes his alterations:

> I have made every thing Instrumental to Fenton's Marriage, and the whole to depend on one common Center ... I have added to some of the parts in order to heighten the Characters, and make them show the better. I have above all things endeavoured to make the Dialogue as easie and free as I could ... In short, I have alter'd every thing which I dislik'd, and retain'd every thing which I or my friends approved of.[10]

Musically, Dennis's requirements are similar to Shakespeare's. Mistress Quickly does not sing, as that scene has been omitted from Dennis's play. However, Ford, disguised as Mr Broom, sings a nonsensical 'La lell tera loll doll doll' to mask his true feelings as he learns of his wife's infidelity (or so he believes) from Falstaff.[11] Dennis retains the frightened Evans's 'To shallow

rivers' and expands the fairy song in the final act. The fairies are introduced by a 'Terrible Symph[ony]'. Then follows a more elaborate song than in Shakespeare's original, led by a spirit but interspersed with choruses. The lyrics have been completely rewritten, and are reproduced here in Appendix B. In Dennis's play both Falstaff and Ford have dressed up as Herne the Hunter. The fairies mistake Ford for Falstaff, and thus torment the wrong person during their song!

As already noted, Dennis's adaptation probably received just one performance. Reflecting on the play's failure (in the Epistle Dedicatory to the printed text) Dennis blames the actor who played Falstaff. Unfortunately, he makes no reference to music. Although we would not expect a formal setting of Evans's song, the Fairies' music must have been quite substantial. This music is no longer extant.

Shakespeare's own version of the play made a hesitant start in the eighteenth century, being performed just four times during the first two decades.[12] However, the production which opened at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 22 October 1720 was a great success, and there were few years during the remainder of the century when the play was not performed. Although we believe it was given in an essentially unaltered version, the earliest 'acting' edition was not printed until the Bell edition of 1773. As one would expect, most of the differences in this edition are omissions.[13] The only other significant acting version of the century is Kemble's revision of 1797. This, too, is close to the original, with some lines restored but others omitted.[14]

Given the informal nature of the songs by Mistress Quickly and Parson Evans, both of which are retained in the Bell and Kemble editions, it is not surprising that there are no extant eighteenth-century theatrical settings of these texts.[15] One might, however, have expected to find music for the Fairies' song. The reason why none survives is clear from the Bell edition, which omits the song entirely. When it was cut is unclear, but there is no mention of music, or singers, in any of the advertisements for the play during the entire century. Kemble, in his 1797 edition, did restore the last two lines of the song text:

> Pinch him, and burn him, and turn him about,
> 'Till candles, and star-light, and moon-light be out

but with the instruction 'All the Fairies speak'.

There is just one piece of music which Neighbarger suggests was used in connection with an eighteenth-century production of *The Merry Wives*, a song sheet with the title 'The Merry Wives of Windsor'.[16] Although dated by the British Library as '1700?' Neighbarger, without giving his reasons, calls the song an 'Epilogue Song' and suggests it was used in performances of *The Merry Wives* at Lincoln's Inn Fields *c*1720.[17] The song is a ballad, with five stanzas, and its text is given in Appendix B.

In dating the song I believe that Neighbarger has taken the opening lines too literally:

> WE Merry WIVES of Windsor,
> whereof you make your Play,
> and act us on your Stages,
> in London Day by Day.

The first time the play was performed more or less daily was in the new production of October 1720 (with performances on 22, 24, 25, 26 and 29 October).[18] However, the song was clearly written years earlier. Apart from the single sheet song, whose dating is conjectural, the ballad is also found in volumes five and six of *Wit and Mirth:or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*, published in 1714 and 1720.[19] The references to stage performance both in the opening and in the final stanza ('Be sure you imitate us right, / In acting of your play') imply that the ballad was inspired by theatrical representation. This suggests a date of composition of 1704 or 1705, the only time earlier in the century when the play was acted.[20] Nevertheless, there is no evidence that the song was sung at a performance of the play.

A Midsummer Night's Dream

From the Restoration through to the middle of the present century *A Midsummer Night's Dream* has been subject to the most persistent musical alteration, adaptation and addition of all Shakespeare's plays. In order to accommodate the requisite extra music huge cuts had to be made to Shakespeare's text; yet even when the full text was restored in 1840 it was not until Harley Granville-Barker's Savoy Theatre production of February 1914 that the play was first allowed to be performed without additional musical numbers.[1] Granville-Barker's production, however, was ahead of its time, and it took several more decades before Mendelssohn's incidental music to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, composed in 1843 and first heard in England in 1844, ceased to be the almost obligatory accompaniment to performances of the play that, meanwhile, it had become.[2] During the eighteenth century there were performances of no fewer than seven distinct musical adaptations of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[3] However, although these were spread between 1703 and 1777, none was particularly successful, and in total the play ranked only the twenty-first most frequently performed Shakespeare play of the century – a position far lower than its popularity in more recent times.[4]

The musical qualities of the play are evident on four different levels. First, there are the explicit calls for music, such as songs and dances: these will be discussed later. Next there are the frequent musical metaphors and other musical allusions in the text.[5] As Harold Brookes notes: 'The verse and language are often in themselves exquisitely musical',[6] a result achieved, among other means, by the use of rhymes and varied metres.[7] Finally, the mere presence of fairies and magic seems to demand music, in order to enhance the sense of their mystery and separation from the mortal world.[8]

Shakespeare requires music in the play both to accompany a variety of different effects and, often humorously, to help articulate the differences between the worlds of the fairies, the mechanicals and the other mortals. Thus, Titania is sent to sleep by the magical lullaby, sung by fairies, 'You spotted snakes with double tongue' (II ii 9-23) but awoken by Bottom's braying 'The ousel cock so black of hue' (III i 120-23, 125-28).[9] The comic effect here is that the duped Titania does not perceive the roughness of Bottom's singing, and so responds: 'What angel wakes me from my flowery bed?' (III i 124). Comic contrast is again used when Titania's sensual offering to Bottom: 'What, wilt thou hear some music, my sweet love?' (IV i 27) is met with: 'I have a reasonable good ear in music. Let's have / the tongs and the bones' (IV i 28-29). The rather earthy, primitive 'Musicke Tongs, Rurall Musicke' which follows[10] is in opposition to the magical soft music which, soon afterwards, the restored Titania conjures up to put the lovers into a deep sleep.[11] There is yet more comic contrast in the play's use of 'signal' music. Horns are, appropriately, employed to announce the arrival of the hunting duke, as we reach daylight and the resolution of the action, whereas, a little later, the opening of the mechanicals' play is marked by the inappropriately self-important and over-ceremonious use of trumpets. Finally, Shakespeare calls for several dances. These are used, principally, as outward expressions of the re-establishment of harmony and order.[12] Thus, Oberon and Titania dance when they are reconciled to one another. Although Oberon's command 'Sound, music! Come, my Queen,

take hands with me, / And rock the ground whereon these sleepers be' (IV i 84-85) suggests a lively dance, it is presumably not of the more grotesque nature of the Bergomask dance later presented by the mechanicals at the wedding celebrations.[13] However, it is only when the fairies dance again, at the very end of the play, that the sense of resolution and harmony can be fully affirmed.[14]

Although the title-page of the earliest publication of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the first Quarto of 1600, informs us that the play was 'sundry times publickely acted, by the Right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his servants', the only contemporary performance we know of is one possibly at court on 1 January 1604.[15] R. A. Foakes argues, nevertheless, that the popularity of Shakespeare's play is attested to by the publication, in 1661, of a droll entitled *The Merry Conceited Humours of Bottom the Weaver*, which was reprinted as 'Sundry times Acted in Publique and Private' in Francis Kirkman's 1673 anthology of farces *The Wits*.[16] However, the one surviving reference to a Restoration performance of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is the famous dismissal by Samuel Pepys, writing in his diary for 29 September 1662:

> and then to the King's Theatre where we saw *Midsummer night's dreame*, which I have never seen before, nor shall ever again, for it is the most insipid ridiculous play that I saw in my life. I saw, I confess, some good dancing and some handsome women, which was all my pleasure.[17]

When we next hear of the play, some thirty years later, it is in a radically adapted form.

The Fairy Queen is a dramatic opera – a five-act play with substantial musical diversions at the end of each act. The non-musical text of the play is clearly derived from Shakespeare's play, but not a line of Shakespeare is found in the additional musical sections. The author of the opera is unknown, but the composer was Henry Purcell.[18] In true Restoration English operatic style *The Fairy Queen* demands elaborate scenery, costumes, effects and a large number of dancers. Staged in 1692 and revived in 1693 it was, as Curtis Price notes, 'the last and costliest of the Dorset Garden extravagances mounted before the dissolution of the United Company in early 1695'.[19] Artistically successful it was financially less so. The prompter John Downes records:

> *The Fairy Queen*, made into an Opera, from a Comedy of Mr. *Shakespears*: This in Ornaments was Superior to the other Two; especially in Cloaths, for all the Singers and Dancers, Scenes, Machines and Decorations, all most profusely set off; and excellently perform'd, chiefly the Instrumental and Vocal part Compos'd by the said Mr. *Purcel*, and Dances by Mr. *Priest*. The Court and Town were wonderfully satisfy'd with it; but the Expences in setting it out being so great, the Company got very little by it.[20]

Nevertheless, despite the costs, it was evidently being considered for a revival early in the eighteenth century. In *The Flying Post* of 9-11 October 1701, and also in *The London Gazette* of 9-13 and 16-20 October, the managers of the Theatre Royal, Drury Lane ran an advertisement asking for the return of the lost theatrical score, or a copy, of *The Fairy Queen*.[21] In the event Drury Lane was able to put

on just one act of the opera, some sixteen months later, on 1 February 1703.[22] This is the last recorded performance of *The Fairy Queen* until the present century.[23]

In total contrast to the extravagant five-act opera *The Fairy Queen*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* next emerged in the eighteenth century as a one-act 'comick masque'. Reacting against the current vogue for Italian Opera, with its '*high* Recitative *and* Buskin *Airs*',[24] Richard Leveridge decided to set Shakespeare's mock-play of Pyramus and Thisbe as a sort of mock-opera: '*I have here endeavoured the quite Reverse of those* exalted Performances.'[25] Leveridge's *Pyramus and Thisbe* combines most of the two rehearsals of the mechanicals (I ii 1-83, III i 7-68) with their final performance (V i 108-340) . The text is relatively little altered from its original, with a few songs and a concluding epilogue being the principal additions.[25a] The duke and the lovers, who comment on the play's performance in the original, are replaced by Crochet, Gamut and Mr Semibreve the Composer. They are also given additional comments. Following its model, Leveridge's *Pyramus and Thisbe* is written in prose, but has ten songs.[26] The lyrics of four of these songs, 'The Raging Rocks', 'Approach you furies fell', 'Now am I dead' and 'These Lilly Lips', are Shakespeare's own lines; the remaining six are entirely new.[27] As an accomplished bass singer and comic actor, Richard Leveridge took the parts of Pyramus, the Prologue and some of the Epilogue. With a première on 11 April 1716, this comic masque received nine further performances at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the season 1716-17, and then one final performance at Richmond Theatre on 2 September 1723.[28] Unfortunately, none of Leveridge's music survives, and we have no comments concerning the reception of the piece.[29]

The only other version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to be performed in the first half of the eighteenth century was another musical adaptation of *Pyramus and Thisbe*. This was a setting by J. F. Lampe, which saw thirty-three performances at Covent Garden between 25 January 1745 and 18 February 1746.[30] Lampe's libretto is based on Leveridge's, though there are some cuts, minor word changes, re-named characters, and the addition of a few more airs.[31] The biggest cut occurs at the beginning, as Lampe dispenses of the preliminary rehearsal scenes included by Leveridge. Crochet and Gamut are replaced by 'Two Gentlemen', though Mr Semibreve (now 'Semibrief') is retained. The added songs enlarge the parts of Pyramus, sung by Mr Beard, and Thisbe, sung by Mrs Lampe; in Leveridge's piece Thisbe was played, in drag, by a Mr Pack. Lampe called his work a 'Mock-Opera' and, like Leveridge, he ridiculed Italian operatic conventions and tried to press for an alternative English form of musical entertainment. Lampe's views are most clearly expressed in his newly written Introduction, where Semibrief has two important speeches:

> You must know, Sir, one of these Gentlemen having made the *Tour* of *Italy*, has but little Taste for our homespun, *English*, Entertainments – nor has he yet got the better of his foreign Prejudice: But, between you and I, I don't doubt, when he has heard a little of this Piece, I shall bring him over to our Opinion; and let him see, the *English* Tongue is as fit for Musick, as any foreign Language of 'em all.

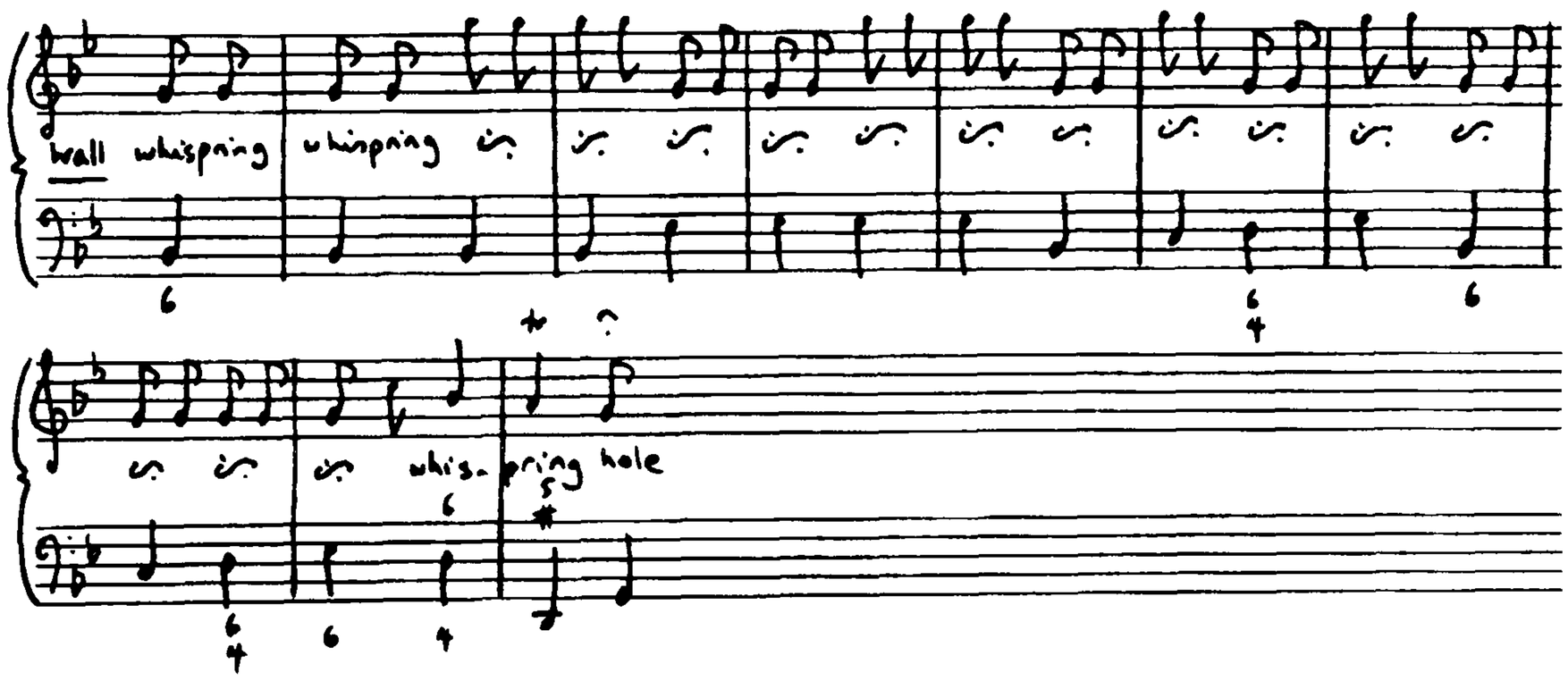
and

> if
> the Town will be so good to bear with such *English*
> Voices as we could now procure, I don't doubt
> but, with proper Encouragement, we may, in time,
> be enabled to give the Publick, Musical Enter-
> tainments, without sending our Money to foreign
> Parts, to purchase Performers at exorbitant Prices.[32]

Lampe's music was published by Walsh in 1745.[33] Written in a more ballad-like rather than Handelian style the songs are tuneful but not particularly virtuosic. None is in da capo form; several are binary movements, the rest are through-composed. Most of the humour lies in the words themselves, which appear more ridiculous for having been set so seriously. Yet certain musical devices further emphasise the humour of the situation, such as 'Approach ye furies fell' being set as a revenge aria, beginning:

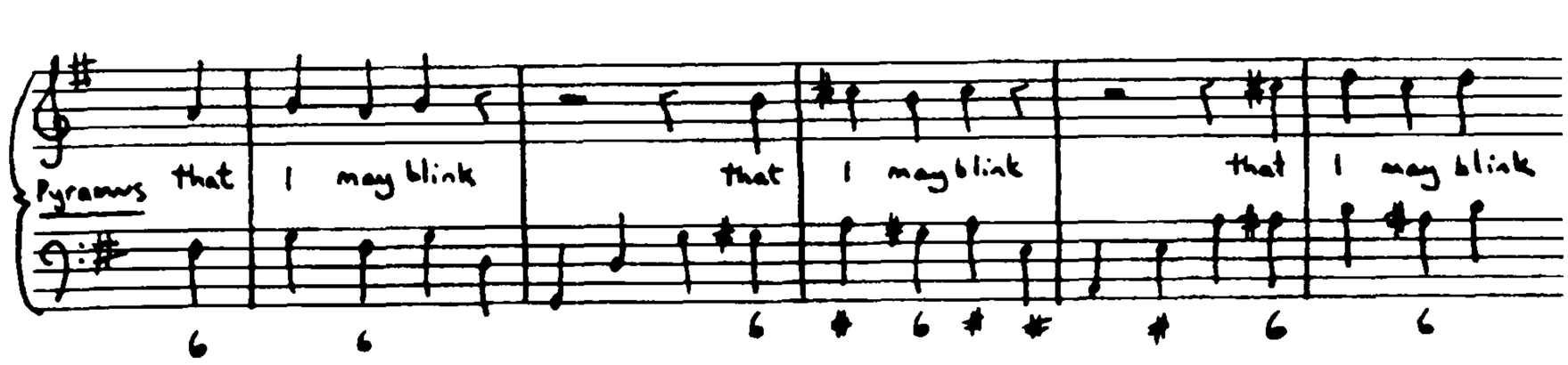
Ex. 1: Lampe *Pyramus and Thisbe* 'Approach ye furies fell' bars 1-3.

the banal repetition of "whispering" in 'The wretched sighs and groans':



Ex. 2: Lampe *Pyramus and Thisbe* 'The wretched sighs and groans' bars 36-45.

and the highlighting of 'that I may blink' through rising sequential treatment in 'And thou oh Wall':



Ex. 3: Lampe *Pyramus and Thisbe* 'And thou oh Wall' bars 24-29.

In the Walsh publication the songs are orchestrated for two violins, viola, basso continuo, two oboes and two horns. There is also an overture in four movements, starting in F major, but ending mock-tragically in F minor. No recitatives were printed: a 'reconstruction' of these has been made by

Roger Fiske,[34] but I am not entirely convinced that the lines between the airs, each of which is distinctly labelled 'AIR', were not simply spoken; the word 'recitative' is never mentioned in Lampe's libretto.

One feature of Lampe's *Pyramus and Thisbe* not yet noted is a dance that is called for before the epilogue and final duet and chorus. Walsh's score includes no music for a dance, but it is clear from advertisements, which named the dancers involved, that dancing formed an important part of the entertainment as a whole. For the very opening performance, for example, we learn that 'The *Dances*' (note the plural) were performed 'by Cooke, LaLauze, Picq, Villeneuve, Delagarde, Mrs Duval',[35] whilst a later performance boasted: 'the whole to conclude with the last New Dance call'd *Foote's Vagaries*'.[36] As usual, it is the fact of dancing, rather than any specific dances, which is of importance; clearly, the same dances were not used at each performance.

After its initial burst of popularity (up to 18 February 1746), Lampe's mock-opera was performed just three more times at Covent Garden, between 13 April 1748 and 2 May 1754.[37] And then, on 3 February 1755, Garrick presented the London public with yet another operatic version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[38] But this was no mock-opera of *Pyramus and Thisbe*. This was a serious, full-blown three-act opera, in Handelian vein, with da capo arias and even two Italian singers. The music was composed by Handel's amanuensis, and former pupil, John Christopher Smith.

The Fairies is based on the first four acts of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with Act I comprising: I i and II i to line 185; Act II: II i 186 to the end, II ii and snatches from III ii and V i; and Act III: III ii and IV i, with two concluding lines from V i (355-56). On the whole, Shakespeare's words have been left unaltered, but huge cuts have been made to the text in order to accommodate twenty-eight airs. These cuts include the entire omission of the rustics, and hence of Titania's falling in love with Bottom (now just alluded to), as also of the mock-play 'Pyramus and Thisbe'. The words of the songs derive, as we learn from the title-page of the libretto, 'from SHAKESPEAR, MILTON, WALLER, DRYDEN, LANSDOWN, HAMMOND, etc.'.[39] Frequently, it is not the opening of the borrowed poems that have been used. For example, Helena's air 'Love made the lovely Venus burn' comprises lines 11-12 and 19-22 of Edmund Waller's poem 'To Phyllis', with two new lines added after line 12. The sources of the songs that I have been able to locate are listed in Appendix A.

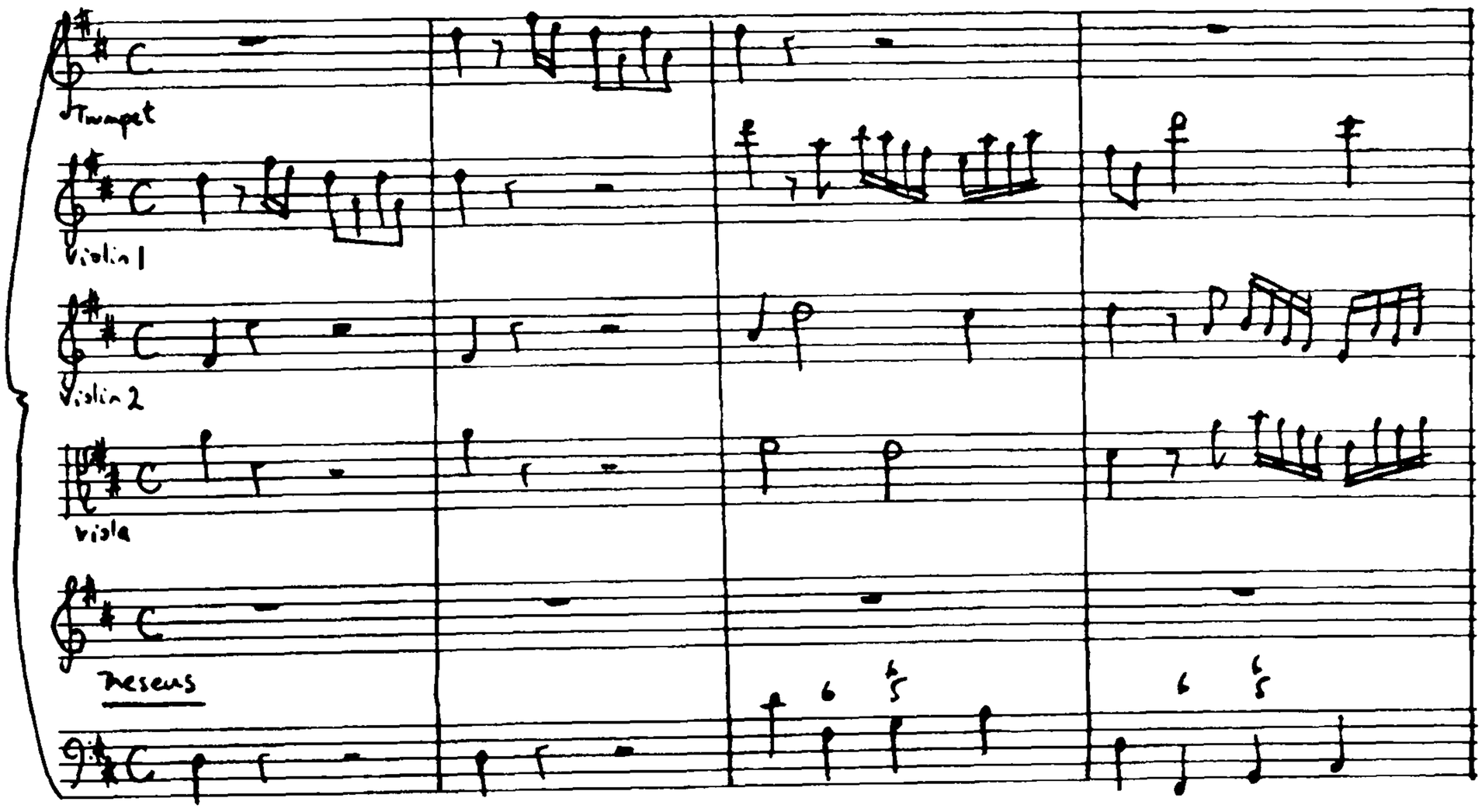
The overall authorship of *The Fairies* has been the subject of some dispute. Garrick was believed to have been responsible for both this alteration and the operatic *Tempest* staged the following year (and also with music by J. C. Smith). This he flatly denied in a letter to James Murphy French dated 7 December 1756: 'Sir, I received your letter, which indeed is more facetious than just – for if you mean that *I* was the person who altered the *Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the *Tempest*, into operas, you are much mistaken.'[40] Yet Garrick did write the prologue, and in this he gives the following unhelpful lines:

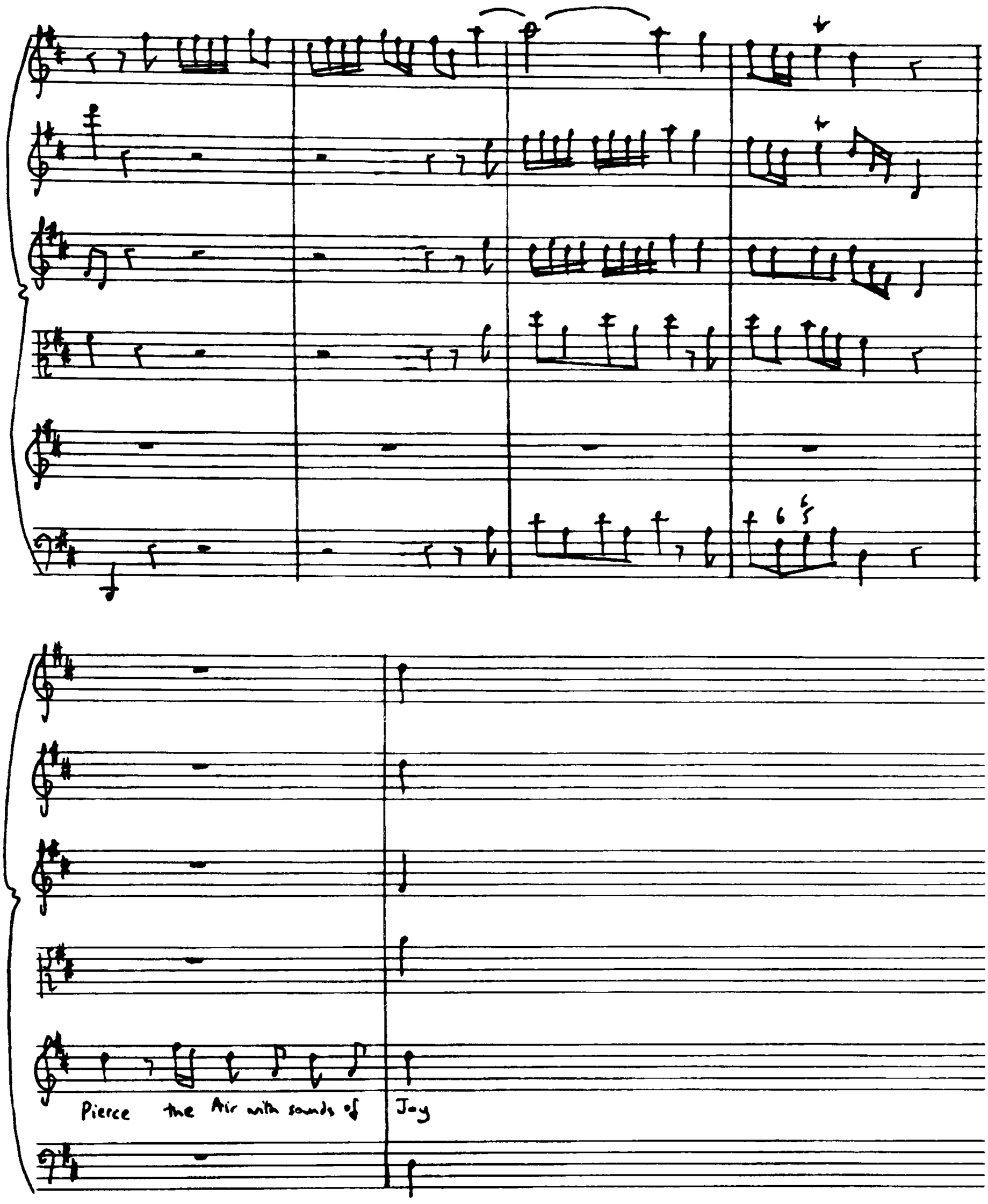
> *I dare not say*, WHO *wrote it — I could tell ye*,
> *To soften Matters — Signor* Shakespearelli:

However, in the Advertisement following the Dramatis Personae we read: 'Where *Shakespear* has not supplied the Composer with Songs, he has taken them from *Milton, Waller, Dryden, Lansdown, Hammond, etc.* and it is hoped they will not seem to be unnaturally introduced.' This rather suggests Smith's involvement with the libretto, at least in the choosing of non-Shakespearean texts.

The music of *The Fairies* was published, in full score, by John Walsh, and first advertised for sale in the *London Evening-Post* 6-8 March 1755.[41] Included in the publication are a duet, a chorus and twenty-five arias, all but five of which are in da capo form. The overture, apparently, is reused from Smith's pastoral *Daphne*, composed in 1744, to which has been added 'a bright march movement with trumpets'.[42] There are also two symphonies to mark important entrances: the first to announce the arrival of the Fairy King and Queen, and the second the return of Theseus and daybreak. Since Theseus is out hunting, it is appropriate that this second symphony is scored for two horns and two oboes, as well as the usual complement of strings and basso continuo. Missing from the Walsh score are all the recitatives, and the two dances Oberon orders (one before the final song of the second act, and the other just before the concluding scene of the opera).

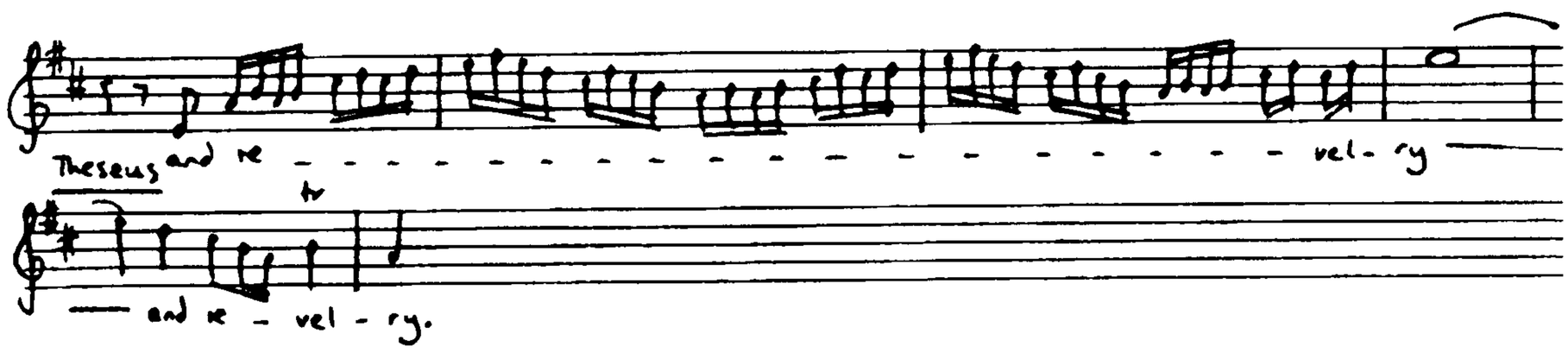
There are seven principal characters in *The Fairies*.[43] The first to sing is Theseus, originally played by the tenor John Beard. Theseus has just two arias, but both of these are rather grand, and accompanied by brass instruments. The opening piece, 'Pierce the air with sounds of joy' is striking both in its arresting words, and in Smith's handling of them, as can be seen in the opening ten bars. Each bar begins with an emphatic tonic chord, highlighted by the following quaver rest. Interest is maintained through the use of antiphony:





Ex. 4: Smith *The Fairies* 'Pierce the air with sounds of joy' bars 1-10.

Although the commanding tone of the words demands mostly syllabic treatment, there is some indulgence on the word 'revelry':

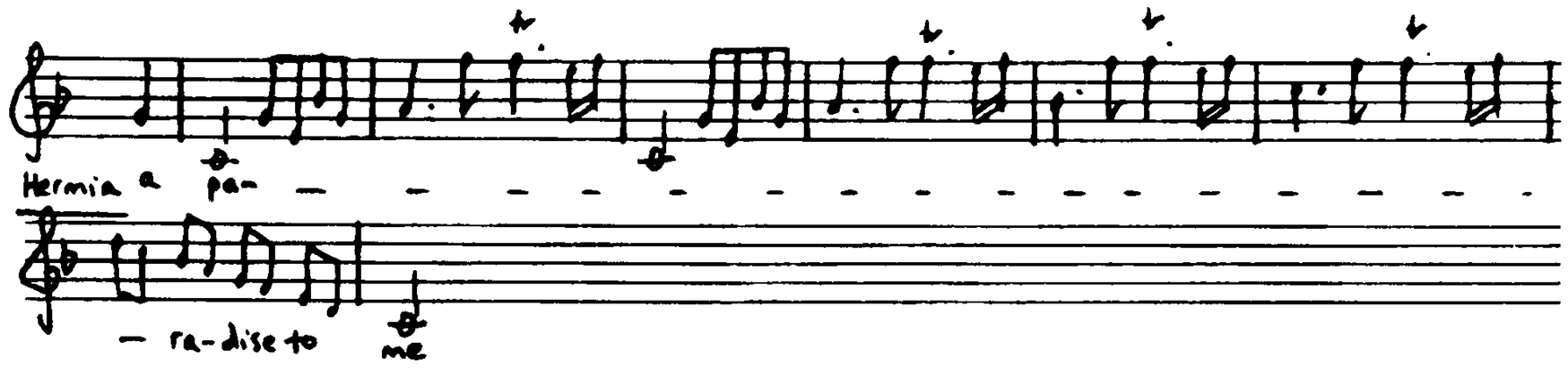


Ex. 5: Smith *The Fairies* 'Pierce the air with sounds of joy' bars 19-24.

This is the only solo aria to include a trumpet, which is used again just in the final chorus. Theseus's other song, 'Hark, hark, how the hounds and horns', contains less vocal display, but is the most heavily orchestrated number, with added horns and oboes giving it the same orchestration as the

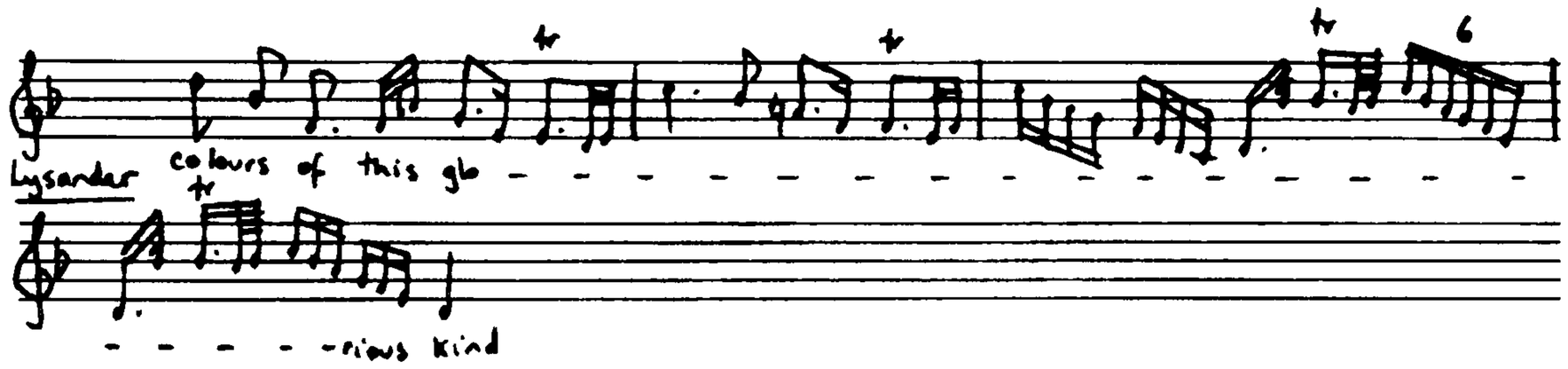
preceding symphony. It is interesting that this is the only instance in the entire score of two consecutive numbers being in the same key (in this case F major).[44]

The principal pair of lovers in Smith's opera are Hermia and Lysander, sung by the Italians Gaetano Guadagni and Christina Passerini. As well as having the only duet of the opera Hermia is given five arias and Lysander three. The writing in their arias is notably more virtuosic than in anyone else's. Witness, for example, the treatment of 'paradise' in 'Before the time I did Lysander see' with its trills and ungainly leaps:



Ex. 6: Smith *The Fairies* 'Before the time I did Lysander see' bars 62-70.

and of 'glorious' in 'Say lovely dream where couldst thou find':



Ex. 7: Smith *The Fairies* 'Say lovely dream where couldst thou find' bars 16-19.

Of the other pair of lovers only Helena, sung by Miss Jane Poitier, has any arias. As well as requiring no virtuosity, three of her five numbers are quite thinly scored, omitting the viola and often also the second violin. Yet her final piece, 'Love's a tempest, life's the ocean', also the last aria of the opera, is more demanding.

The Fairies were all played by children. Miss Isabella Young, niece to Mrs Lampe, took the part of Titania. Of her three arias two have interesting accompaniments: 'Orpheus with his lute made trees' features a solo oboe, whereas 'You spotted snakes with double tongue' is the one number in the opera requiring a flute. In this last piece the viola and bass are frequently silent when the voice sings, the sole accompaniment often being just unison violins. This lends a light, eerie atmosphere to the piece. The remaining fairies were played by boys from the Chapel Royal. Master Reinhold, as Oberon, had five arias. The most demanding of these is 'Flower of this purple dye', which is unusual, however, for its brevity and the fact that the voice is accompanied solely by the basso continuo. Master Moore as Puck, had just two arias. His 'Where the bee sucks' employs muted strings and two oboes, whereas 'Up and down, I will lead them up and down' has the bass mostly silent, with the voice just doubled by unison violins.

It is a little difficult to comment on the success of *The Fairies*. Although it was performed only eleven times from its première on the 3 February 1755 to its final performance on 7 November 1755, it seems to have been well received.[45] Box office takings were good, according to Richard

Cross's diaries, with £200 on the opening night, and only falling to a still respectable £100 on the last night.[46] Cross also reported that the audience responded with 'very great applause'.[47] Theophilus Cibber was one of the few to condemn the opera outright: *'The Midsummer Night's Dream* has been minc'd and fricaseed into an indigested and unconnected Thing, call'd, *The Fairies*.'[48] Tate Wilkinson, for example, reported: 'It was well performed, and with good success; aided not a little by an excellent prologue, and as excellently spoken by Mr Garrick',[49] and we read in *The Tuner*:

> *The Fairies*, an Opera perform'd at *Drury-Lane*, is a laudable Attempt to encourage native musical Productions. I wish the Choice had been of Words in general more *Lyric*, that is, more bending and pliant to Harmony. How far the Composer deserves, or otherwise, I leave to *Connoisseurs* in Music to determine.[50]

Criticism of the lyrics was also at the heart of Walpole's comments:

> Garrick has produced a delectable English opera, which is crowded by all true lovers of their country. To mark the opposition to Italian operas, it is sung by some cast singers, two Italians, and a French girl, and the Chapel boys; and to regale us with sense, it is Shakespeare's *Midsummer Night's Dream,* which is forty times more nonsensical than the worst translation of any Italian opera-books – But such sense and such harmony are irresistable![51]

William Coxe had only praise for the piece:

> The words of Shakespeare's Midsummer- Night's Dream, are light and airy, the music is well adapted to the words, and the children who performed the fairy part, were so admirably suited to the several characters, particularly Miss Young, who represented the fairy queen, that the performance was reckoned a chef - d'oeuvre.[52]

Perhaps the most balanced comment on the success of *The Fairies*, however, is that made by Burney:

> Great and favourite singers only can save an Italian musical drama of any kind in this country; indeed, I can recollect no English operas in which the dialogue was carried on in recitative, that were crowned with full success, except the Fairies, set by Mr Smith 1755 and Artaxerxes, by Dr Arne in 1763; but the success of both was temporary, and depended so much on the singers, Guadagni and Frasi in the one, and Tenducci, Miss Brent, and Peretti in the other, that they never could be called stock pieces, or, indeed, performed again, with any success, by inferior singers.[53]

It should also be remembered that by the end of 1755 preparations must already have been underway for the next major English Shakespeare opera, *The Tempest*, which received its première on 11 February 1756.[54]

There can be no doubt about how the next alteration of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* to grace the London stage fared: it was a total failure. Entitled *A Midsummer Night's Dream* but described as 'With ALTERATIONS and ADDITIONS, and several NEW SONGS'[55] this adaptation was the closest to Shakespeare's original to be staged in the eighteenth century.[56] However, with thirty-four songs it was essentially an opera, but with spoken dialogue rather than recitative. Many numbers from

Smith's opera *The Fairies* were re-used, but Burney composed at least ten airs, and other songs were composed by Michael Arne, Battishill and Aylward.[57] The reception of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which was performed at Drury Lane on 23 November 1763, is described in William Hopkins's diary:

> This piece of Shakespeare's was greatly cut and altered, – the fifth Act entirely left out, – and many Airs introduced, – got up with a vast deal of Trouble to all concerned, but particularly to Mr Colman, who attended every Rehearsal, and had Alterations innumerable to make. – Upon the whole, I believe, never was a Piece so murdered as this was by the Singing-speakers, in which Mrs Vincent and Mr W. Palmer were beyond Description bad; and had it not been for the children's excellent Performance (particularly Miss Wright, who ran away with all the Applause and very deservedly) the Audience would not have suffered them to have gone half thro' it. – The Sleeping particularly displeased – The next Day it was reported, Performers sung the Audience to Sleep, and then went to Sleep themselves.[58]

David Garrick had begun working on this musical adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* earlier in 1763, in collaboration with George Colman the elder. Garrick's marked-up Tonson 1734 edition of the play, together with comments by Colman, and a final-act song apparently in the hand of Edward Capell (but not eventually used) all survive at the Folger Shakespeare Library (Prompt MND 6 and MS w.b. 469). Before completing this adaptation, however, Garrick went abroad, leaving Colman in charge of matters at the theatre, advising him (according to Odell) 'to lay stress on musical and spectacular productions'.[59] Garrick mentioned *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in a letter to Colman in October 1763, commenting: 'I think my presence will be necessary to get it up as it ought – however if you want to, do for y^{e} best – & I'll Ensure It's success'.[60] Colman went ahead and staged the play, as already noted, on 23 November 1763.[61] The extent to which Colman altered Garrick's intentions is clear from a comparison of Garrick's marked-up Tonson 1734 copy of the play, and the edition published in 1763.[62] Pedicord and Bergmann sum up these changes as follows: 'Colman, then, added more to the play than Garrick had done, cut more of Shakespeare than Garrick had done, and in general did not show the high regard that Garrick held for the purity of Shakespeare's texts.'[63]

A damning review of the performance was published in the form of a letter to *The St. James's Chronicle; or, The British Evening-Post* 22-24 November 1763:

> I was last Night at Drury-Lane Theatre, to see the Revival of Shakespeare's Midsummer Night's Dream, an odd romantick Performance, more like a Masque than a Play, and presenting a lively Picture of the ungoverned Imagination of that great Poet. The Fairy Part is most transcendently beautiful, and is, in poetical Geography, a kind of Dramatick Map of Fairy-Land; but the Love-Story wound up with it, and the Celebration of the Marriage of *Theseus* is very flat and uninteresting; even the very fine Speeches of *Theseus*, towards the Conclusion of the Piece, are fitter for the Closet than the Stage, where they receive no great Addition by coming from the deep Mouth of our old friend Mr. *Bransby*. I never at one Time saw at the Playhouse so much good and so much bad Acting. The Children were admirable, most of the *Grown Gentlemen* and *Ladies* execrable. Three of the four vocal

> Performers plainly showed Themselves incapable of delivering a Blank Verse, except in *Recitative*. It is a thousand Pities that such sweet children should be thus *overlaid*. A Friend of mine, who was with me in the Pit, seeing the poor Infants endeavouring to struggle under such a Heap of Rubbish, threw out the following *Impromptu*, with which I shall conclude these Observations.
> *Simile addressed to the Children, on the Representation of the Midsummer Night's Dream*
>
> Did you ne'er see, across the Tide,
> By Fishermen near Town,
> A mighty Net, both large and wide,
> In Thames' fair Bosom thrown?
>
> One End, weigh'd down with Lead, would quite
> Unto the Bottom drop,
> But that, with numerous Corks made light,
> The other floats at Top.
>
> Thus, pretty Dears, the lively Scene
> You fill with Sense and Spirit;
> Help the grown Gentlemen's dull Vein,
> And give the Piece some Merit.
>
> Yet you like living Bodies seem,
> Coupled to Bodies dead:
> You swim, like Cork upon the Stream,
> But can't keep up *their* Lead.

A month later Garrick wrote to Colman: 'the poor Mids. Night's Dream I find has fail'd by a Letter in y^e^ Chron^le^: – I know y^e^ Author & love him tho he abuses the *Grown* Gentlemen and ladies –'.[64]

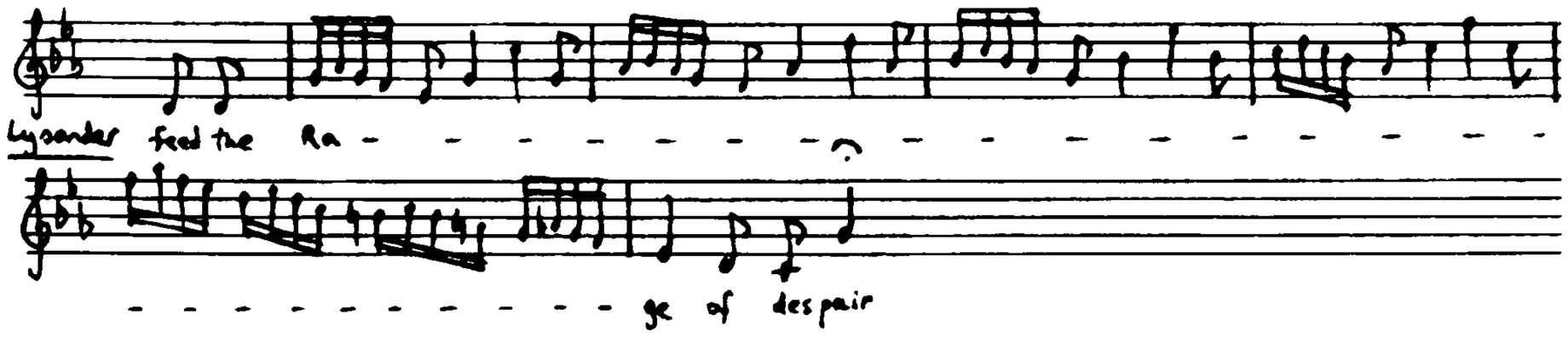
Not content to let so much hard work and preparation go to waste, Colman salvaged what he thought would be effective, and three days later there appeared a two-act afterpiece entitled *A Fairy Tale*.[65] This adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* omits the lovers entirely, and concentrates on the mechanicals and the fairies.[66] In complete contrast to its parent play *A Fairy Tale* was an immediate success. Hopkins noted in his diary:

> This Farce (A Fairy Tale) is taken from the Midsummer Night. – Mr. Colman thought it was Pity so much Pains and Expence as was bestowed on the Midsummer Night's Dream should be thrown away, – he luckily thought of turning it into a Farce, which Alteration he made in one Night, – and now I think (it) as pleasing a Farce as most that are done. – Miss Wright is vastly great in her Songs.[67]

Garrick was certainly pleased with the turnabout in fortune, as he expressed in a letter to his brother George: 'tell Colman that I love him more & more, & thank him most cordially for his fairy tale'.[68] Between its première on 26 November 1763 and its last performance at Drury Lane on 28 April 1767 *A Fairy Tale* was performed forty-one times.[69] It was revived ten years later, when it received seven performances at the Haymarket Theatre in the summer of 1777.[70]

As can be seen from Appendix A at least six of the new songs required for *A Midsummer Night's Dream / A Fairy Tale* have survived.[71] Four of these are compositions by Michael Arne, two

for Miss Wright, one for Master Rawworth, and a duet for them both.[72] The duet and song for Master Rawworth are rather simple and not very exciting. The songs for Miss Wright, however, contain many delightful flourishes to show off the accomplishments of this favourite young singer. The other two extant songs are a duet for Lysander and Hermia, and a solo for Lysander, both composed by Aylward.[73] Of these Lysander's 'Let him come' is the more interesting piece, with a spirited accompaniment and a wonderful, rather instrument-like, display on the penultimate 'rage':



Ex. 8: Aylward 'Let him come' bars 35-41.

Finally, mention should be made of the *Fairy Dance*, present originally in the fifth act of the 1763 *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and then at the conclusion of *A Fairy Tale*. Judging from its frequent mention in advertisements the dance clearly added to the success of *A Fairy Tale*. As so often, however, the music used, and further details of the dance, are no longer extant.

Much Ado About Nothing

Although it was performed only three times in the first forty years of the eighteenth century, once established, *Much Ado About Nothing* was one of the more popular of Shakespeare's comedies during that period.[1] A heavily adapted version of the play, called *The Universal Passion*, was produced during two seasons, but for the remainder of the time it was Shakespeare's own play that held the stage.

Shakespeare requires both singing and dancing in his merry play. Dancing is called for twice: at the masked ball in the second act (II.i.144) and at the very conclusion of the play. The first instance is similar in function to the ball in *Romeo and Juliet*, although more events of dramatic significance occur during the ball in *Much Ado* than in *Romeo and Juliet*. The second dance, an expression of pure joy and a celebration for the newly-weds, serves also as a rousing finale. The three songs that are called for are each very different in nature and function. The first of these is, supposedly, a love-song. Don Pedro, Leonato and Claudio have plotted to make Benedick think that Beatrice is passionately in love with him. To set the atmosphere for their scheme they ask Balthasar to sing. Don Pedro, who has recently won Hero's heart for Claudio, comments: 'I pray thee sing, and let me woo no more.'[2] To this Balthasar responds: 'Because you talk of wooing, I will sing'.[3] Thus we are led to expect a sentimental love-song. Instead, Balthasar sings the song 'Sigh no more, ladies', which contains such lines as 'Men were deceivers ever' and 'To one thing constant never'.[4] Seen as a song to celebrate Claudio and Hero's engagement the lyrics are rather a surprise. However, the intention is to help set up the appropriate mood for introducing a discussion of Beatrice. This mocking of men's faithfulness is the sort of sentiment that one might expect from a character like Beatrice. In this sense it is a fitting prelude to the ensuing dialogue. In contrast, the second song in the play is a genuine love song, sung by a transformed and love-struck Benedick. Unlike Balthasar, however, Benedick is no singer and so after, in private, attempting four lines of a song beginning 'The god of love', he decides to abandon this form of wooing.[5] The final song, in contrast once more, is a solemn affair. Claudio, who has recently learnt how he mistakenly accused the innocent Hero, asks Balthasar, in sorrow, to sing on his behalf at Hero's tomb. The song, beginning 'Pardon, goddess of the night', is a mournful, penitent dirge.[6]

As already mentioned, *Much Ado About Nothing* was little performed in the initial years of the eighteenth century. The first performances took place at Lincoln's Inn Fields in February 1721, but we know nothing about any accompanying music.[7] There is no acting text or promptbook from this production, nor any mention of music in the advertisements. The same situation pertains to the next production of the play, some sixteen years later, which was given at Covent Garden in November 1737.[8] A number of months before this second production, however, an adaptation of *Much Ado*, for which we do have some musical information, had successfully been staged at Drury Lane.

James Miller's *The Universal Passion* is essentially an alteration of *Much Ado About Nothing* combined with elements from Molière's *Princesse d'Elide*.[9] After the opening scenes Miller's play follows Shakespeare's general outline. All the characters' names are changed, and although many

phrases from the original are recognisable, the play is largely rewritten, and many speeches are redistributed. The principal two pairs of lovers have been altered in character. Lucilia (=Hero) is haughty and difficult. Bellario (=Claudio) is initially in love with Lucilia, but has to win her heart by first scorning her. At the end of the play, when he is due to marry Lucilia's cousin (as he believes), he decides to opt for death rather than prove unfaithful to his first love - which is rather rich coming from someone who earlier would not even listen to her protestations of innocence. Liberia (=Beatrice) is made a rather unpleasant, and much weaker, person and only Protheus (=Benedick) remains virtually unchanged.

Musically *The Universal Passion* is quite interesting. Since the masquerade scene is omitted, only the final dance remains. However, there are six songs. All of these are sung by Liberia, who was played by the actress and singer Mrs Clive, for whom presumably the part was originally conceived. (There is no equivalent to Balthasar in Miller's play.) Liberia's songs reflect her personality and changing attitudes towards love. Her first number, 'Let's sing and be merry', reveals not just a merry, but indeed a spiteful nature. Witness the second stanza:

> Let's lash and spare none,
> For so modish 'tis grown,
> 'Tis but a weak Brother,
> Speaks well of another:
> For nothing like Rallery charms ev'ry Sense'
> When we wittily laugh at another's Expence.[10]

Liberia's next song, 'I like the am'rous Youth that's free', which closes the second act, is rather different in tone. Unlike Shakespeare's Beatrice, Liberia admits that, despite her disdain of love, she fears that 'I should surrender if I was closely besieg'd'. This 'Beatrice' is quite ready to be courted. In the third act Liberia regresses somewhat. With Lucilia and Bellario now preparing for marriage Liberia announces her own distaste for matrimony. She declares: 'I'll e'en divert my self with a Song to drive Wedlock out of my Head'. The song which follows is none other than Shakespeare's 'Sigh no more, ladies', though here altered to 'Sigh no more, Virgins'. Miller has made overt Shakespeare's implicit connection between these words and Beatrice. By the end of the third act, however, Liberia has capitulated to Protheus's (supposed) love. The act ends with her singing a song beginning: 'A heart young and tender / Is made to surrender.' In the fourth act this newly-in-love Liberia reaffirms her feelings in the song 'Love's power a while I did despise'. Her final number, a duet with her maid Delia, occurs in the last act. About to be married, the nervous Liberia reveals her naïvety and anxiety over losing her virginity. The duet is intended to raise a cheap laugh.

Apart from these songs, and the final dance, Miller also calls for 'Slow Musick' to make explicit to us the desperate feelings of Gratiano (=Leonato) after his daughter has been shamed at the altar.[11] Not surprisingly, it is impossible now to identify which music was used either for this 'slow musick' or for the final dance. More surprising, however, is the lack of Liberia's songs. Only one setting survives, and that is of 'I like the am'rous Youth that's free'. This was set by no less a composer than Handel himself.[12] An eight-bar instrumental introduction leads to a short binary-form movement, comprising the unusual lengths of six bars followed by seven. Also unusual is the fact

that the first vocal section cadences in the subdominant key, rather than the expected dominant. The setting is strophic and fairly simple, mostly syllabic and with little ornamentation.

The Universal Passion was staged in the Spring of 1737 and again in 1741.[13] Thereafter, Shakespeare's original took over. We have no musical details for the Covent Garden performances of *Much Ado About Nothing* in 1746, except that Balthasar was played by a Mr Hayman, an actor not otherwise known for his singing.[14] With the launch of the new Drury Lane production in 1748, however, starring Garrick as Benedick, the situation changes. From this time until the end of the century the advertisements for performances of *Much Ado About Nothing*, both at Drury Lane and later at Covent Garden, usually contain references to music. Three specific things are normally referred to: a Masquerade Dance in the second act (first advertised in the *General Advertiser* on 16 November 1748), a concluding Country Dance 'by the characters of the play' (similarly first mentioned on 16 November 1748) and a song for Balthasar (first noted in the *General Advertiser* on 29 April 1749). Unfortunately, we do not know what music was used for the masquerade dance. However, it is clear from the advertisements that the masquerade dance was executed by professionals, who did not otherwise take part in the play. This is in contrast to the concluding 'Country Dance' which was performed by the characters in the play. It is impossible to know how many different country dances were used over the remaining half century, but only one survives. Just a single line melody, with instructions for the steps, was published in the *London Magazine: or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* for October 1756 (page 501). It is entitled: 'A COUNTRY DANCE. Much ado about nothing' and is reproduced here in Appendix B. Unlike Gooch and Thatcher, who list this work under 'Non-theatrical instrumental music', I see no reason to doubt its use on the mid-eighteenth-century London stage.[15]

The situation regarding Balthasar's song is rather more complex. In the first place, since Balthasar is in fact required to sing twice, we would expect the advertisements to say 'songs' rather than 'song'. Nevertheless, this accords with information from other sources. There are no extant theatrical settings of 'Pardon, goddess of the night', whereas there are two for 'Sigh no more, ladies'.[16] The reason for this is evident in the printed texts of the play. The earliest acting edition of *Much Ado About Nothing*, the Bell edition of 1773, reveals that the third scene of the fifth act, which contains 'Pardon, goddess of the night', was omitted. It is not clear when this scene was first cut; for reasons to be discussed below, I would suggest it was in the 1748-49 season.

The earliest extant eighteenth-century setting of 'Sigh no more, ladies' is the splendid, well-known version by Thomas Arne. This was published in the collection *Vocal Melody* by John Walsh in 1749.[17] The song is headed: 'Sung by M^{r} Beard, in (Much ado about nothing)'. The question immediately arises of when the song was first performed. The earliest date at which Beard is advertised as Balthasar 'with the proper Song' is 29 April 1749.[18] However, Gooch and Thatcher suggest that the song was first performed on 28 February 1749, presumably since, although there is no mention of a song, that is the first time Balthasar is listed as being played by Beard.[19] I would suggest that the song was in fact sung as early as 14 November 1748. For the performances of *Much*

Ado About Nothing at Drury Lane between 14 November 1748 and 3 February 1749 Balthasar is not given in the cast list at all.[20] Instead, we are informed: 'The Musical Parts by Mr. BEARD, Mr.REINHOLD, Mrs CLIVE, and others'. From 15 November we are also told: 'The Songs and Chorusses new Set by Mr Arne'. This information, unfortunately, confuses matters. None of the songs in *Much Ado About Nothing* requires a chorus, and Arne's 'Sigh no more, ladies' is his only extant setting from the play. However, the Walsh publication of Arne's song has, above the last four bars of the vocal part, the word 'chorus'. Although no extra voices are given at this point, and the word seems redundant, it does appear to suggest that in an earlier version a chorus may have been employed in this setting. What other songs and choruses Arne set one can only speculate. Perhaps he did set Balthasar's other song, 'Pardon, goddess of the night', after all, although it was evidently not sung after the 1748-49 season.

Before leaving 'Sigh no more, ladies' it is worth examining the lyrics used by Arne, since his setting contains a number of textual differences from Shakespeare's original. The most significant occur in the final three lines of each stanza. Shakespeare's:

> And be you blithe and bonny,
> Converting all your sounds of woe
> Into Hey nonny nonny

has been changed to :

> And be you blith and merry,
> Converting all your Notes of Woe,
> Into Hey down derry.

This variant is not present in any of the early eighteenth-century scholarly editions of Shakespeare's play. However, a similar version can be found in 'Sigh no more, virgins' in *The Universal Passion*:

> And be you blith and merry,
> Converting ev'ry Note of Woe,
> To hey down, derry, derry.

This leads me to wonder whether Arne was involved in this earlier setting. In 1737 he was a relatively unknown composer, although he had already been composing for Drury Lane for a few years.[21] Also, the performance of *The Universal Passion* on 14 March 1737 was accompanied by 'A Comic Medley Overture composed by Arne'.[22] As already noted, the advertisement for 15 November 1748 states 'new set'. This suggests that, if Arne did indeed set the text 'Sigh no more, virgins', it was to a different tune from that published by Walsh in 1749.

Since we lack evidence to the contrary, it seems that Arne's 'Sigh no more, ladies' remained in use at Covent Garden until the end of the century.[23] At Drury Lane, however, after forty years it was replaced by R. J. S. Stevens's five-voice glee, which sets Shakespeare's original text, and was not initially intended for the theatre. Although not a prize-winner, unlike some of his other popular glees, it was published in Thomas Warren's *A Twenty Seventh Collection of Catches Canons and Glees* [1789] and quickly became a concert-hall favourite. Its transfer to the theatre then, although

unusual, is understandable. It was first sung at Drury Lane on 9 December 1789, and continued to be used there for the remainder of the century.[24]

It is hardly surprising, given the nature of the song, that we lack any formal setting of Benedick's 'The god of love'. What is surprising, however, is that the performance of *Much Ado About Nothing* at Drury Lane on 24 May 1798 advertised Hero 'with songs'.[25] Hero has relatively few lines, and it is difficult to know where and what she would have sung. The reason for these extra songs, presumably, is that it was a Benefit night for Miss Leak, a noted singer, who took the role of Hero for the first time that evening.[26] We know that during the evening she sang 'Ally Croaker' and Samuel Arnold's 'Little Bess the Ballad Singer', but the lyrics of both these songs render them unsuitable for inclusion in *Much Ado About Nothing*.[27] Which songs she introduced 'in character' as Hero remain unknown.

Pericles

Pericles is unusual in that it is the only play usually considered to be part of the Shakespeare canon that was not printed in the First Folio. It was published in quarto (1609) and found its way into the second issue of the Third Folio (1664); it is also present in the Fourth Folio. Rowe included the play in his collected edition of 1709, but then it was omitted by subsequent editors until Malone restored the play in his 1780 supplement to Steeven's collected edition of 1778. It has remained in the canon since.[1]

Part of the reason for the chequered publication history of *Pericles* is the uneven quality of the play, leading to dispute over its authorship. It is now generally agreed that Shakespeare was responsible only for the final three acts. The writer(s) of the earlier two acts, and the reasons for the play's joint authorship, remain open to scholarly debate.[2]

The play's performance history is also patchy. Apparently popular in the early seventeenth century, it was the first of Shakespeare's plays to be performed at the Restoration.[3] There is evidence to suggest that *Pericles* was presented in 1660 and 1662, but then there was a gap of over two hundred years before it was again staged in London, this time at Sadler's Wells, in October 1854.[4] In the meantime the eighteenth century had witnessed an adaptation of the play by George Lillo, entitled *Marina*. This adaptation, which was performed at Covent Garden just three times in August 1738, was not a success.[5] It is a three-act play based on the final two acts of *Pericles*. Although Shakespeare's language is recognisable in this adaptation, the play has been substantially rewritten.[6]

There are three calls for music in *Marina*. Two of these are very slight: Pericles's arrival in the second act is announced by trumpets, and Bolt enters in the third act 'singing', though with no lyrics provided. In contrast, Marina's song in the final act is both substantial and of real dramatic importance. Pericles, through grief at the (supposed) loss of his wife and now also of his daughter, has become too distressed to talk or eat. His worried attendants, wanting his recovery, have brought him to the Temple of Diana. The pious and virtuous Marina arrives to see if she can restore his spirits. First she tries the healing power of music, and sings. Rather to the audience's surprise this appears to fail:

> Tha[isa]. Mark'd he your musick?
> Mar[ina]. No, nor look'd upon me.[7]

So then she talks to him. Only now does Pericles respond. That Marina's song was not entirely in vain is not apparent in Shakespeare's play. In *Marina*, however, such a connection is made explicit by the recovered Pericles's opening remark: 'What Syren have they found to force attention' - a delayed reaction to her singing.

Shakespeare provided no lyrics for Marina's song. Lillo has remedied this with a four-stanza composition. Seeing Pericles's dejected state Marina urges, in this song, for him not to be distressed by his misfortunes but to 'make our noble sufferance our boast' and to 'seek joy in Virtue that we honour most'.[8] Alas, no eighteenth-century setting of this song has survived. No song is mentioned in any of the advertisements for the play, and there are no details to identify a possible composer. One

slight puzzle is that Lillo's song is a substantial one, yet the actress playing the part of Marina, Mrs Richard Vincent, was not particularly noted as a singer.[9] This makes me wonder whether Mrs Vincent, possibly not sufficiently accomplished for such a major song, merely recited Lillo's verses, perhaps accompanied by soft music in the orchestra. I freely admit, however, that I have no evidence to support this hypothesis.

The Taming of the Shrew

The Taming of the Shrew has a varied stage history in the eighteenth century. It was the most popular of Shakespeare's comedies, yet it was always staged in an adapted form, with no fewer than five very different versions being performed during this period.[1] Musically, the adaptations are also very different. Shakespeare requires little music in his own play. There are hunting horns and trumpets in the Induction, as well as unspecified 'music' (Ind ii 36). This latter is used to reinforce the illusion of Christopher Sly's 'new' life, serving principally as a reflection of his supposed wealth, and also as a symbol of healing. In the play proper, lutes are mentioned, and are present, a number of times. However, we progress little further than hearing them tuned.[2] The only other music in the play is associated with Petruchio. First, music signals his exit from church after his wedding. Later, as part of the display of his 'madness', Petruchio sings snatches of two ballad songs. These are: 'Where is the life that late I led? / Where are those - ' (IV i 127-28) and 'It was the friar of orders gray, / As he forth walked on his way - ' (IV i 132-33). Seng suggests that Shakespeare's audience would have appreciated the irony of the first snatch, and argues that the second, probably derived from a bawdy marriage song, would similarly have been found amusing.[3] The fact that we lack complete versions of either words or music for both of these ballads suggests that their popularity was short-lived; it is doubtful that later audiences would have understood their full significance.

The first adaptation which needs to be considered is John Lacey's *Sauny the Scot: or, The Taming of the Shrew*.[4] Although published only in 1698, it is first recorded as having been acted at the Bridges theatre on 9 April 1667.[5] For the eighteenth century we know of twenty-nine performances of the play, given between 5 July 1704 and 18 November 1736.[6] The principal differences between this adaptation and its model are that Lacey omits the Induction, changes most of the characters' names, sets the action in London, and writes the whole in prose. Petruchio's servant Grumio becomes the Scot Sauny, and is given a much enlarged part (played, originally, by Lacey himself), while Katherina (now Margaret) is subjected to more trials. In other respects, however, Shakespeare's story is closely followed, and a number of lines from the original are to be found, verbatim, embedded in Lacey's prose.[7]

Lacey's musical requirements are similar to Shakespeare's. There is music to announce the end of the wedding, and Petruchio sings just the second of the original two snatches. The order of the words, however, has been slightly transposed:

> It was the Orders of the Fryar Gray,
> As forth he walked on his Way.

Lacey also calls for additional music. Jamy (=Tranio) sings a few 'Tum, te Dum's with the snatch 'Old Coale of London' as he feigns innocence in an extra scene involving the attempted abduction of Biancha.[8] Of more importance, however, are a dance at the end of the play and a song in the third act. The dance is naturally introduced as part of the concluding celebrations: the song occurs in the opening scene of the third act, which is equivalent to that scene in the original. Geraldo (=Hortensio) begs Biancha: 'First, Madam, be pleased to Sing the Last Song that *I* Taught you, and then we'll

proceed'. Her reply, 'I'll try, but I'm afraid *I* shall be out', suggests a not necessarily very polished performance of the song which follows. No lyrics are supplied for this song.

In the sixty-nine-year stage history of Lacey's play it seems there is music extant from just one production. This is the revival, in about 1698, which coincides with the publication of the play. From this revival there are a set of act tunes and two songs. The treble part only survives of these act tunes, which are preserved in manuscript at the British Library.[9] Headed 'The Musick in the Play call^{d} Sawney the Scot or y^{e} Tameing y^{e} Shrew' there are eight sprightly tunes all in Bb major. Gooch and Thatcher attribute these melodies to Daniel Purcell, presumably because he composed the two songs also associated with the production.[10] However, there is nothing in the primary sources to indicate his authorship of these act tunes.

Of the two songs for this production composed by Daniel Purcell, ''Twas in the Month of May Jo' is the better preserved. It was first published by William Pearson in 1699, and several other editions were issued over the next decade or so.[11] Described as 'A New Scotch Song' it tells the sad story of a brief love affair between Jockey and Jenny, which ends with Jenny as an abandoned single mother.[12] Sung to a merry tune, this piece sits uneasily in the play, unless it precedes the final dance. According to the song sheets it was sung by Mrs Harris, who was not involved in the main cast of the play.

Gooch and Thatcher mention a second song, 'Beyond the desart mountains', which is referred to in the *London Stage* (I 485) but was clearly not seen by them.[13] I can confirm that a copy of this song exists at the Folger Shakespeare Library.[14] It is headed: 'A Song in the Taming the Shrew or Sawny the Scot, Sung by Mrs Ciber Set by Mr Purcell and exactly engrav'd by Tho: Cross'. Mrs Cibber played the part of Biancha around 1698, and this is presumably the missing song required in the third act. I am rather puzzled, though, by the words of what one might have expected to be a straightforward love song, given the dramatic situation. These are strange words from a would-be suitor:

> Beyond the Desart Mountains,
> Far Wthin a Rocks cold Bosome laid,
> A proper cold a proper cell for grief
> A proper cell for grief and dark Dispair.
> Thus to herself repenting Caelia said
> Farewel the Thoughts of Sinfull Love
> Whose tempting Joys our ruine prove
> The fleeting pleasure in a moment past
> But oh! the pains of guilt for ever last.

Set in a solemn F minor, the song is presumably meant to ridicule Geraldo.

We do not know for how many performances Daniel Purcell's two songs and the act tunes were used, nor whether they were sung or played in any early eighteenth-century stagings. Certainly, there is no evidence that they were used in later productions. Indeed, a promptbook relating to the Goodman's Fields production of 1735-36 shows that Biancha's song was cut, as was also Petruchio's 'It was the Orders of the Fryar gray' and the final dance. Music is cued only to mark the end of the wedding.[15]

As Lacey's *Sauny the Scot* continued its long theatrical run, three other adaptations of *The Taming of the Shrew* were introduced to the London stage. Two of these bear the same title, were produced in the same season, are loosely based - somewhat unusually - on the Induction to the play, and are farces. Charles Johnson's *The Cobler of Preston* was written first. It is a two-act, political farce retaining little of the original story or its language. Among the various changes are Kit Sly, the drunken cobler, waking up supposedly in Spain, apparently hearing and speaking fluent Spanish; a butler being left in Sly's place, with Sly's clothes; and the presence of Sly's wife in the play. The reason for tricking Sly in this story is to teach him a lesson, and quell his dangerous political meddlings.[16] Despite the brevity of the piece, Johnson calls for music a number of times. As the drunken Sly is first carried away, Sir Charles orders: 'Let him have Musick, when he wakes'.[17] And so, when Sly awakes, Diego declares: 'Order his Lordship's Band of Musick in the Anti-Chamber, gently to touch their Instruments, and awake him with the sweetest, softest Sounds of Harmony'.[18] No cue, however, is given for this music. Nevertheless, a little later Diego announces: 'My Lord, some Neighbours hearing of your Recovery, are come to entertain you with a Song, and chear your Heart with Mirth'.[19] There then follows 'A Dialogue SONG between a Cobler and his Wife'. This is clearly meant to represent an argument between Sly and his wife, as she tries to persuade her drunken husband to steer clear of politics. She sings, for example:

> You puzzle your Pate
> With Whimsies of State,
> And play with Edge Tools to your Ruin.

and

> I prithee, dear Kit,
> Have a little more Wit,
> And keep thy Neck out of the Halter.[20]

A little later we are presented with a dance. Again it is Diego who announces: 'My Lord, the Dancers attend, as you order'd 'em'.[21] And as if that were not entertainment enough, the play is brought to a close by 'A Masque'. No text, however, is given for this masque.

Johnson's farce had a short-lived success. It was performed eleven times in February 1716, twice that April and finally twice in October.[22] What is puzzling is that for none of these performances is there a reference to any singers, dancers or musicians. This suggests that any musical element in the production was, in fact, kept to a minimum. Certainly, no independent masque specific to this play, and no setting of the dialogue song, are extant.

The circumstances of the origin of the other version of *The Cobler of Preston* reveal one of the more entertaining episodes in London theatrical rivalry. Hearing that Johnson's farce was in rehearsal at Drury Lane, Christopher Bullock thought it would be amusing to confuse the town and stage a farce of the same name, and based on the same play, at Lincoln's Inn Fields. So, according to the preface in the printed edition of the farce, Bullock wrote his one-act piece within two days, and had it staged at Lincoln's Inn Fields more than a week before the Drury Lane opening of Johnson's play.[23]

Like Johnson's farce, Bullock's is somewhat removed from Shakespeare's Induction, although about a third of his lines do derive from the original.[24] Bullock, too, makes frequent use of music. There is, for example, the familiar-sounding: 'Some of your Honour's Neighbours, hearing of your Recovery, are come with Musick, Songs, and Dances, to entertain you'.[25] After a two-line response there follows 'Here a Song and Dance'. Just as Johnson had a dialogue song so, too, at the very end of the printed edition of the play, Bullock provides a dialogue song, which clearly belongs at this earlier cue. The song, beginning 'Since Times are so bad', is rather different in content to the Johnson dialogue. It concerns a country lad who, whilst considering whether to go to the city to make his fortune, is persuaded by his partner that he is better off as he is: 'Ambition's a Trade no Contentment can show'. The song comes, in fact, from the second part of *Don Quixote*, and had been set to music by Henry Purcell over twenty years earlier.[26] In the playbook it is marked 'Sung by Mr Leveridge and Mrs Fitzgerald', two singers not otherwise in the cast. Advertisements confirm that Leveridge and Mrs Fitzgerald sang this dialogue in performances of Bullock's play in 1716.[27] Unlike Johnson's farce, Bullock's *The Cobler of Preston* was surprisingly successful, enjoying a performance at Covent Garden as late as 23 May 1759.[28] However, whether Purcell's dialogue song continued to be sung beyond the earliest productions seems doubtful, since it is never mentioned in the advertisements.

In addition to the dialogue number, Bullock calls for four songs in his play. These are all sung by Toby Guzzle (=Christopher Sly).[29] Although the words of these songs spring, to some extent, from their dramatic context, they are primarily included as manifestations of Guzzle's easy-going, drunken character. It is probable that all four were sung to familiar tunes. 'Whenas King Henry rul'd the Land' was, at that time, popularly sung to 'Chevy Chase', and 'My Lodging it is on the cold Ground' had its own melody, which has been attributed to Matthew Locke.[30] I am unable to ascertain what tunes were used for the other two songs: 'I tell you that' and 'Who puts a Doublet on a Horse'.[31]

The remaining alteration of *The Taming of the Shrew* to be performed in the first half of the eighteenth century requires the most music but received the fewest performances. This is James Worsdale's *A Cure for a Scold*, a ballad farce of two acts.[32] Worsdale's play, like Lacey's, is based on Shakespeare's, but omits the Induction. Indeed, it is as much derived from Lacey's work as from Shakespeare's.[33] Of the ten characters listed in the cast, six are required to sing. The first act contains seven airs, and the second fifteen; of the twenty-two melodies named I can identify all but one.[34] Most are popular ballad tunes, with at least eight of them being found in the ballad opera *Polly*. However, a few more contemporary melodies are also employed. A full listing of these airs is provided in Appendix A.

Given the immense popularity of ballad opera in the 1730s it is perhaps surprising that *The Taming of the Shrew* was the only Shakespeare play altered in this way. As already mentioned, it was not a success. It was performed five times at Drury Lane in 1735 and twice at Covent Garden in 1750.[35] As well as songs, Worsdale calls for a dance at the end of the first act. This is part of the wedding celebrations that the newly weds do not stay to enjoy. Although there was dancing on all the

nights that *A Cure for a Scold* was performed at Drury Lane, only for 5 May 1735 is a dance specifically named for this afterpiece. On this occasion it was *A Clown*, performed by the dancer Francis Nivelon.[36]

The final eighteenth-century adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, Garrick's *Catharine and Petruchio*, was by far the most popular. Garrick reduced the play to a three-act afterpiece, and it was frequently performed in conjunction with his alteration of *The Winter's Tale*.[37] As well as the omission of the Induction, Garrick cut the whole sub-plot concerning Bianca, who is already married to Hortensio. Necessarily, some lines were added, and some speeches given to different characters. Nevertheless, this is the closest to the original of all the adaptations, with many of Shakespeare's lines kept intact.[38] Such was the popularity of *Catharine and Petruchio* that, with the exception of 1784-85, it was performed in London every season from its second performance on 21 January 1756 through to the end of the century.[39] It also continued to be played well into the nineteenth century. Unfortunately, from the musical standpoint there is very little of interest in this adaptation. The end of the wedding is signalled by music, and Petruchio enters 'singing', but with no words given. Then, back at his house, he sings the two snatches present in the original. As already noted, I know of no melodies for these snatches that were used in the eighteenth century.[40] Nor am I aware of any other music written specifically for this adaptation.

The Tempest

The Tempest is Shakespeare's most musical play, and also the one to receive the most musical attention during the eighteenth century. Although there were a few operatic versions, on the whole it was kept as a five-act play, with the music incidental to it. In this respect *The Tempest* differs from *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, whose adaptations were principally musical, and generally much abridged from the original. *The Tempest* was also a significantly more popular play.[1]

With the exception of the 1745-46 season, productions of *The Tempest* during the first half of the eighteenth century were all of an adaptation of the play, first staged in 1667, made by William Davenant and John Dryden.[2] In this adaptation the basic character names and plot remain intact, but the language is modernised, there are some different sub-plots, and several new characters are introduced, allowing for more pairings and more sexual intrigue. Miranda is given a sister, Dorinda - neither of them ever 'saw man' - whilst, unbeknown to them, also living in the island is Hippolito - 'one that never saw woman'. Caliban gains a sister, Sycorax, and even Ariel is partnered by a female spirit, Milcha.[3] Most of Shakespeare's songs are retained, but several more are added. In particular there is a new masque of devils in the second act, and Shakespeare's fourth-act masque is replaced by a grand masque of Neptune and Amphitrite in the final act.[3a] Also, whereas in the original play only characters who are, as it were, sub-human or super-human sing (the monster Caliban, the drunken Stephano and Trinculo, the spirit Ariel, and the other spirits who put on the masque), Davenant and Dryden allow one of the main characters, Ferdinand, to sing. He joins Ariel in the duet 'Go thy way', a piece that Pepys particularly enjoyed.[4] A list of the song requirements both in Shakespeare's play and in the Davenant-Dryden adaptation is given in Appendix A.

Much of the music has survived from when the Davenant-Dryden adaptation, further altered by Shadwell, was staged at the Dorset Garden Theatre in 1674. Pelham Humfrey composed music for both of the masques and for Ariel's 'Where the bee sucks', whilst John Banister set the songs 'Come unto these yellow sands', 'Full fathom five', 'Dry those eyes' and 'Go thy way' (the echo song). 'Arise ye subterranean winds' was supplied by Pietro Reggio, and there is act music by Matthew Locke and also possibly by Robert Smith.[5] Giovanni Battista Draghi is known to have composed music for the dances, but this is no longer extant. Nor do we have music for any of Caliban's or Trincalo's songs, which were presumably sung unaccompanied and somewhat freely. In addition, two songs for Dorinda were also published: 'Adieu to the pleasures' (1674-75) by James Hart, and 'Dear pretty youth' (1695) by Henry Purcell. The lyrics of neither of these songs is to be found in any printed texts of the play.[6]

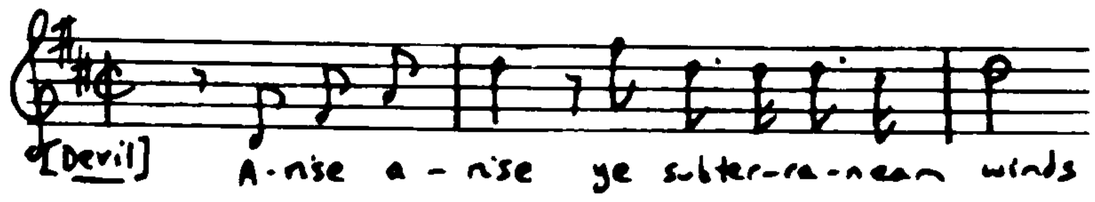
It is difficult to know for how long the Locke/Humfrey music persisted on the London stage, for it was replaced sometime early in the eighteenth century by a new setting attributed, for many years, to Henry Purcell. In an important paper given to the Royal Musical Association in 1964 Margaret Laurie demonstrated that this new music, rather than being composed by Purcell, was probably John Weldon's missing setting.[7] The *Daily Courant* advertisement for the Drury Lane performance of *The Tempest* on 31 July 1716 proclaimed: 'All the musick compos'd by Mr Weldon

and perform'd compleat, as at the Revival of the play'.[8] This particular production had opened at Drury Lane on 7 January 1712, when it was advertised 'With new Scenes, Machines, and all the Original Decorations proper to the Play', though with no specific reference to the music.[9] There is no absolute proof that the so-called Purcell setting was indeed composed by Weldon, and for this 1712 revival, but Laurie's evidence points overwhelmingly in that direction. Unfortunately, we lack promptbooks or contemporary acting editions of the play from this period, which could help date the introduction of this setting; the Purcell/Weldon version has some significant differences in its text from the earlier setting - mostly cuts affecting the longer musical numbers.

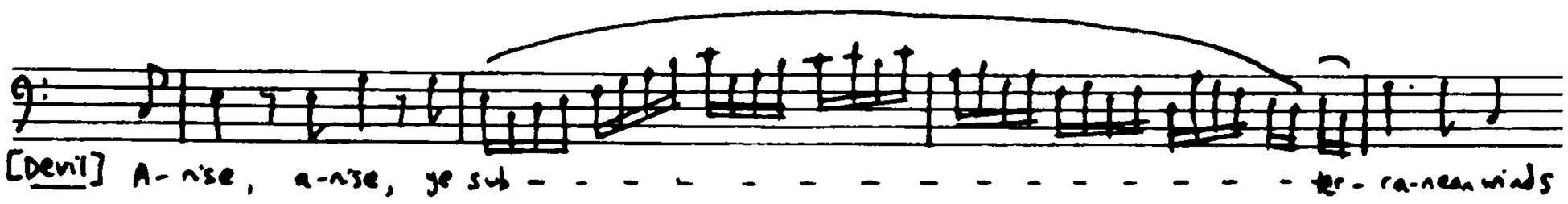
Of course, it is misleading to think of the Purcell/Weldon music as having been composed by one person and all introduced at the same production. Although there was no doubt a critical point when a substantial amount of the new music was introduced (possibly 7 January 1712), a slower evolution had also been occurring - just as had occurred, indeed, with the earlier operatic *Tempest*, where some of the music for the 1674 opera had already been used in performances of the play since 1667. The one piece that can certainly be associated with both the earlier operatic *Tempest* and the Purcell/Weldon setting is Henry Purcell's 'Dear pretty youth'.[10] However, the dances in the Purcell/Weldon setting also had earlier origins. The dance following 'Arise ye subterranean winds' is taken from Lully's *Cadmus and Hermione* (produced in London in 1686),[11] whereas Laurie thinks that the remaining two dances are, because they appear 'archaic in comparison with the rest of the score', possibly remnants of Draghi's music from the 1674 production.[12] I also wonder about the authorship and timing of those two exquisite Ariel songs 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five'. The tune of 'Come unto these yellow sands' was adopted by D'Urfey for his celebratory song 'Now comes joyful peace', written after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht on 31 March 1713, and published in the undated *Musa et Musica* II and then in *Wit and Mirth* V (1714).[13]

As already noted, the text used in the Purcell/Weldon setting is shorter than in the Locke/Humfrey setting, with the fifth-act masque completely rewritten. This is to allow for much more expansive musical treatment, which is immediately evident in the choruses. In the Devils' Masque, for instance, the two devils move swiftly through their lyrics in syllabic, arioso style, which contrasts with the heavier four-part choruses. These begin homophonically and then break into contrapuntal repetition of their text; the words 'Around we pace', for example, occupy a full twelve bars. A similar thing happens, on a smaller scale, in Ariel's songs 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five', with the chorus being particularly prominent in the latter song. The longest single chorus, however, is 'The Nereids and Tritons' in the fifth-act masque, where two lines of text occupy 47 bars of music, followed by an instrumental postlude of 24 bars.

Of course, it is not just the choruses that have been expanded. The Purcell/Weldon setting also makes more virtuosic demands on its solo singers. Compare, for example, the difference in treatment of the opening words in Reggio's 'Arise ye subterranean winds' with that attributed to Weldon:



Ex. 1a: Pietro Reggio 'Arise, ye subterranean winds' bars 1-3.



Ex. 1b: Henry Purcell/John Weldon 'Arise, ye subterranean winds' bars 8-12.

Similar demands are made in the masque of Neptune and Amphitrite, where the difficulties of Neptune's part, in particular, no doubt reflect the agile vocal abilities of the bass Purbeck Turner.[14] Other roles, however, also require good singers. Ariel's song 'Dry those eyes', although not as fiery and extrovert as some other numbers, nevertheless calls for controlled, sustained, lyrical singing of a kind quite different from that needed in 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five'. 'Dry those eyes' is built on a rather long ground bass of nine bars; starting and ending in A minor, it also visits the relative major and dominant minor keys. The piece is extended through instrumental interludes and a long closing postlude.

Both the Locke/Humfrey and Purcell/Weldon settings are substantial musical compositions totalling, in performance, some 40 minutes and one hour respectively.[15] Much of the music, however, though enhancing the entertainment, is not essential to the plot. And even when it does seem dramatically desirable it is often the function of the music, rather than any specific lyrics, which is of importance. Thus, although Davenant and Dryden's operatic *Tempest* was acted throughout the first half of the eighteenth century, it seems that the music attached to different productions often varied. For example, it appears that Humfrey's masque of Neptune and Amphitrite was replaced in the early years of the century by Purcell's masque from *Timon of Athens*.[16] Also, the *Daily Courant* advertisement on 30 July 1716, in alerting us to Weldon's music, suggests that this may be a revival of music that had been dropped in the interim. It seems likely that the masque was later sometimes omitted, or replaced by something else, or much shortened.[17] The theatrical manuscript BL: Add MS 37027, for example, has a somewhat curtailed final masque. This manuscript also completely omits Ariel's rather lengthy 'Dry those eyes'.

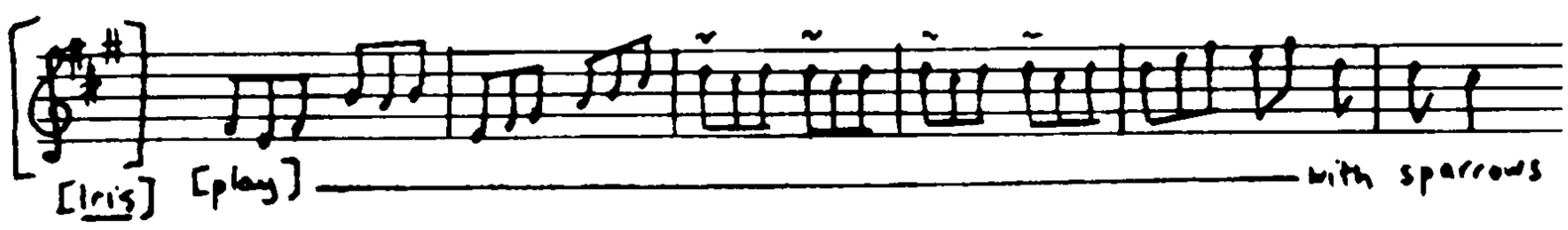
As well as cuts, however, there were also additions. It is clear from advertisements that dances, for which unfortunately we lack most of the music, were an important feature of the Davenant-Dryden operatic *Tempest*. They seem to have become especially prominent from the 1720s onwards. For example, for the performance at Drury Lane on 6 June 1723 we learn that the dancing was 'After the Turkish Manner, as it was perform'd by the Kister Aga and the Eunuchs of the Seraglio, for the Diversion of the Grand Signior at the last Bairam Feast'.[18] At Drury Lane on 22 May 1727 there was a 'Dance of the Winds', a 'Grand Devils Dance' and 'The Dance of Watermen',[19] whereas on 11 April 1737 the play included a 'Comic Dance of Fantastical Spirits (in Grotesque Characters)', the 'Waterman's Dance' and 'a Grand Ballet of Sailors'.[20]

As well as dances new songs were added to the play. The advertisements for the Drury Lane performance of *The Tempest* on 28 November 1740 state: 'in which will be sung two additional new songs, composed by Mr Arne'.[21] Unfortunately, we have no further information concerning these songs. Since Mrs Cecilia Arne took the parts of Milcha and Amphitrite in this performance, it is possible that Arne's songs were written for either of these characters, and more probably Milcha. In the 1674 printed text of the play, however, Milcha is only assigned the solo song 'Full fathom five', though joining Ariel for 'Dry those eyes'. No setting of either of these songs by Arne survives, though Milcha may well have sung other texts.

Thomas Arne's name next arises in connection with the one attempt in the first half of the eighteenth century to stage Shakespeare's original version of *The Tempest*, as opposed to the alteration by Davenant and Dryden. *The General Advertiser* for 30 January 1746, announcing the following day's performance of *The Tempest* 'As written by Shakespeare', informs us that this revival was a very musical one. It was publicised as containing a 'GRAND MASQUE, new set to Musick by Mr. Arne', concluding 'wi[t]h a Musical Entertainment, (compos'd by Mr. Arne) of NEPTUNE *and* AMPHITRITE'. With the Grand Masque was also advertised 'proper Chorus's and Dances', while the Musical Entertainment was to include Mrs Young, Mrs Sibella and others as 'Sea Nymphs'. The whole play was to be 'interspersed with Dances by Mr. Muilment, Mr. Desse, Miss Scot and others'.

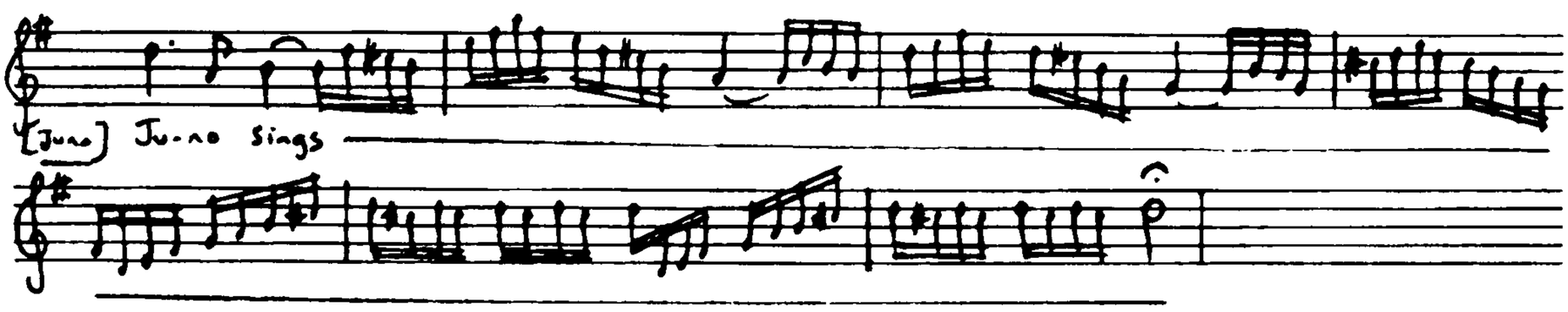
Music for the various dances does not survive, nor does Arne's setting of the Musical Entertainment of Neptune and Amphitrite - a non-Shakespearean text presumably borrowed from the Davenant-Dryden alteration. Much of the Grand Masque, however, is extant. Evidently copied from an imperfect source, this masque can be found in BL: Add MS 29370. In the First Folio the instruction 'They sing' is given only for the twelve lines beginning 'Honor, riches, marriage, blessing' (IV i 106-17), which are also the only lines set in italics. Arne, however, used the entire text (IV i 59-117 and 128-38) excluding, as far as we can tell, just lines 64-69, 117 and 138. These were set as a series of recitatives followed by arias for each of the goddesses (Ceres, Iris and Juno), ending in a grand chorus with all three of them. Unfortunately, because of the imperfect state of the source copy, we lack virtually all of Iris's aria, as well as the last part of Ceres's aria. A list of the sections that have survived is given in Appendix A.

Judging from Arne's music Mrs Sibella, who sang Ceres, was the least accomplished of the three sopranos in this production.[22] Her aria, accompanied (as are the others) by two violins and basso continuo, is really quite simple, with all the words set syllabically. In contrast, the short section we have of Miss Esther Young's aria, as Iris, shows her superior vocal talents. The manuscript extract begins, for example, part-way through a melisma on 'play':



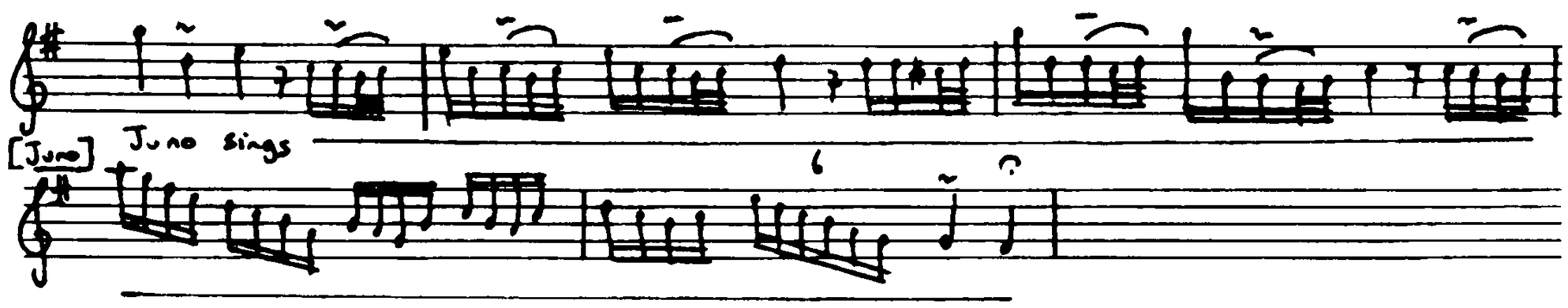
Ex. 2: Thomas Arne 'The Masque in the Tempest' BL: Add MS 29370 p183, first 6 bars.

Both these singers, however, serve merely to warm up the audience for the exuberant flourishes of Juno, sung by Cecilia Arne. Witness two of her excursions on the word 'sings'. First:



Ex. 3a: Thomas Arne 'Honor, riches, marriage blessing' bars 19-24.

and later:



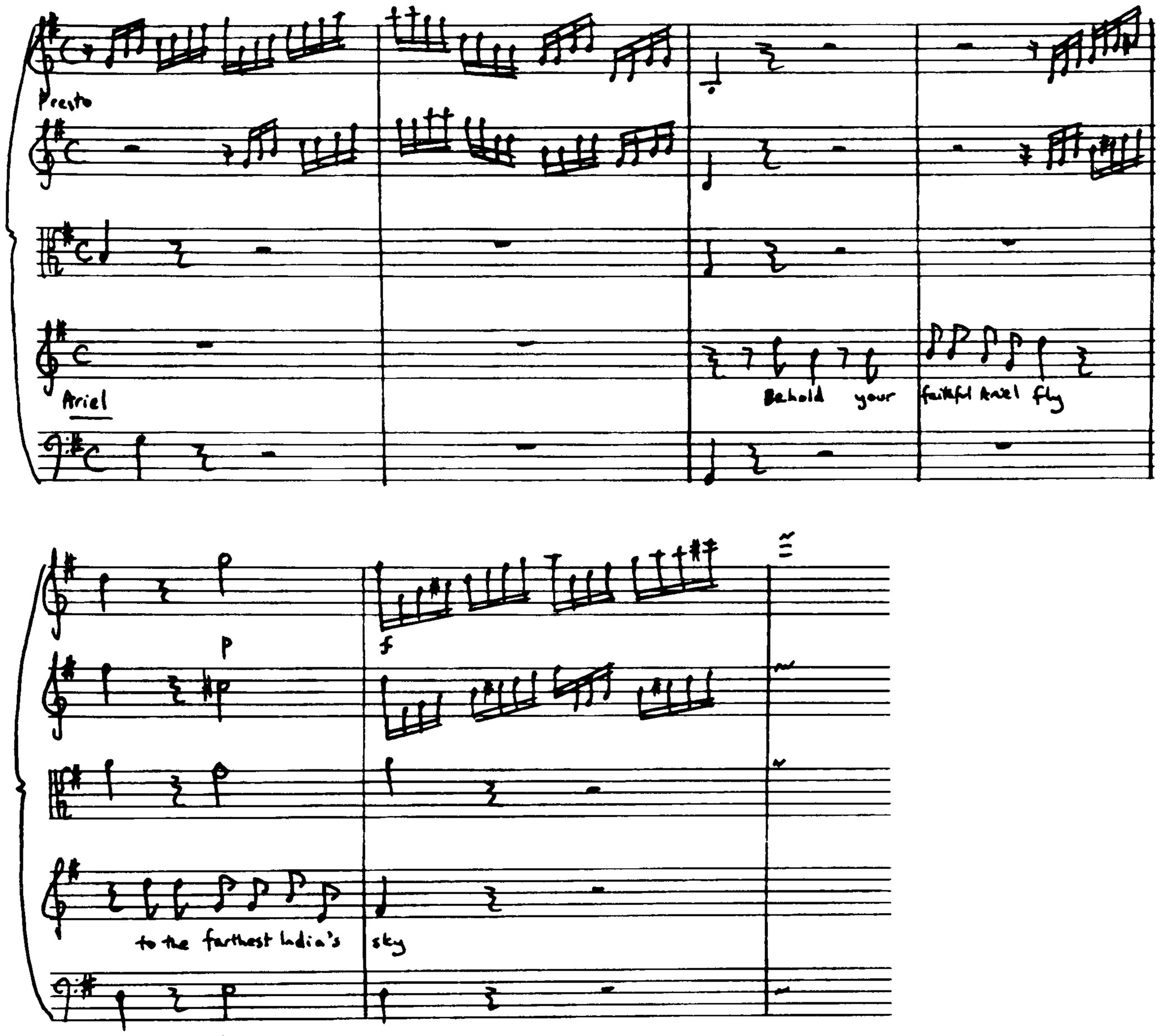
Ex. 3b: Thomas Arne 'Honor, riches, marriage blessing' bars 60-64.

Juno maintains her position of superiority in the final trio, where she has the most prominent part. This last number builds to a splendid climax as the three sopranos are joined by alto, tenor and bass singers, and the orchestra of flute, violins, viola and basso continuo is augmented by trumpets, timpani, horns and oboes.[23]

Also included in BL: Add MS 29370 are three songs for Ariel. The first of these, 'Come unto these yellow sands', is a simple, lyrical enough, but not terribly inspired composition, which lacks a chorus. This is followed not, as we might expect, by a setting of 'Full fathom five', but by an accompanied recitative of a non-Shakespearean text. The words are as follows:

> Behold your faithful Ariel fly
> To the farthest India's sky
> And then again at your command
> I'll traverse o'er the silver sand
> Doing thy hest what e'er it be
> Not with ill will but merrily.

Arne's music starts with some exciting flourishes, before settling down to more conventional sustained chords:



Ex. 4: Thomas Arne 'Behold your faithful Ariel fly' bars 1-6.

This recitative is followed by a setting of Ariel's rather sing-song words 'E'er you can say come and go' (IV i 44-47), which suggests that the recitative replaced Ariel's line 'What would my potent master? here I am' (IV i 34). Like 'Come unto these yellow sands' this is a straight-forward, rather ballad-like, setting in a lilting 6/8. Again, it is not a very notable composition.

A fourth Ariel song which needs to be mentioned here is Arne's charming setting of 'Where the bee sucks'. This is not contained in the manuscript, presumably because it was so frequently issued as a single song-sheet in the second half of the eighteenth century. All four of these songs for Ariel were probably written for the 1746 Drury Lane production. However, they were not sung then. Instead, they were replaced by compositions by Wilhem Defesch. This was due to an unfortunate incident concerning Mrs Clive. We learn of this from the *Memoirs* of Dr Charles Burney:

> Arne & she had probab[l]y had a quarrel before he went to Ireland; for she refused to sing his Music. And when he new set the Tempest, and she undertook the part of Ariel, he sent her the beautiful and characteristic air: "Where the bee sucks there suck I" - she sent it back untried, and employed Defesch, a good contrapuntist, but a dull composer to set all the songs in her part.[24]

Burney described the same incident more colourfully in his article in Rees's *Cyclopædia*:

> Mrs Clive, after a quarrel and battle with Dr. Arne, behind the scenes of Drury-lane theatre, would perform none of the doctor's music, and when he had new set the Tempest, and prepared for her his charming air in the part of Ariel, "Where the bee sucks", she refused to sing it, and employed Defesch to set the same words, and whatever else she had to perform in all her parts, which was a greater loss to the public, than disgrace to Dr. Arne, who was as superior to Defesch in genius, as Mingotti was to Clive in the art of singing.[25]

The quarrel referred to, between Kitty Clive and Thomas Arne, would appear to be the one related also by Burney in his *Memoirs*:

> When one night M^{rs} Clive having undertaken a song in w^{ch} she was imperfect: as she was given to be out of time as well as tune; at a hitch, she calls out loud to the band, "why dont the fellows mind what they are ab^{t}?" At the end of the Act Arne went up stairs to remonstrate against her insolence, when the only satisfaction he obtained, was a slap on the face. In return, he literally turned her over his knee and gave her such a manual flagellation as she probably had not received since she quitted the nursery; but as a proof that she had made a good defence, he came back without his wig, all over blood from her scratches, & his long point ruffles torn & dangling over his nails.[26]

Burney thus explains why Arne's 'Where the bee sucks' was first published in a collection of songs associated not with the theatres but with the Pleasure Gardens, where it was sung by his wife. The song appears in *The Second Volume of Lyric Harmony Consisting of Eighteen entire new Songs and Ballads ... as perform'd at Vaux-Hall Gardens By M^{rs} Arne, M^{r} Lowe & M^{r} Rheinhold. Compos'd by Thomas Augustine Arne*. (London [1746]). It was printed with an accompaniment of two violins, flute and basso continuo.

A unique copy of Defesch's songs for *The Tempest*, long thought lost, was discovered at the Marylebone Public Library in 1986.[27] Contrary to Burney's dismissal of Defesch's works as 'in general dry and boring'[28] these *Tempest* pieces are quite delightful, as was evident from a BBC broadcast of the music on 24 August 1986. There are five songs in total: four for Mrs Clive as Ariel, and one for Mrs Mozeen (formerly Miss Edwards) as Miranda. The songs appear to be printed in the order in which they belong in the play.

The first song is a setting of the non-Shakespearean text also set by Arne - 'Oh bid your faithfull Ariel fly'. Its words, however, are slightly different to those used by Arne:

> Oh bid your faithfull Ariel fly
> To the farthest Indies sky,
> And then at thy afresh command
> I'll travers o'er the silver sand.
> I'll climb the mountains, plunge the deep
> For I like mortals never sleep.
> I'll do your task, what e're it be,
> Not with ill will, but merrily.

Defesch sets these lyrics in a bipartite structure. The first four lines are in duple metre and accompanied by two violins, viola and basso continuo, whereas for the second four lines the strings are replaced by two flutes, and the music moves into triple metre. The setting is fairly simple, though there are expressive melismas on 'travers' and 'merrily'. Its position as the first song in the collection suggests that it was sung during Ariel's initial appearance in the play, during the second scene of the first act.[29]

Miranda's song which follows is also of a non-Shakespearean text:

> All fancy sick I am from love
> Made up with hopes and fears.
> Say why should joy my heart thus move,
> Yet fill mine eye with tears.
> So great the bliss which I receive,
> My life my dear from thee,
> That fear alas does make me grieve,
> Thou ne'er canst love like me.

It is a da capo song, accompanied throughout by flute and basso continuo. There is more harmonic interest in this piece than in the first, reflecting Miranda's confused emotional state, and there are some telling examples of word-painting on 'joy' and on 'fear alas', which rises chromatically. Otherwise, though, this piece is somewhat uninspired. It was presumably sung after Miranda's first encounter with Ferdinand, at the end of the first act.

In the next piece, 'While you here do snoring lie', an oboe joins the accompanying violins and basso continuo. A slow introduction, with heavy dotted figures and languid oboe line, depicts the sleeping Gonzalo and his companions. Defesch uses accompanied recitative for Ariel's opening three lines (II i 295-97), moving from G minor to a brighter Bb major for a lively triple-metre setting of the final three lines. The vocal part, though not complicated, is effective, and there are judicious touches of word-painting throughout.

Ariel's third song is an agreeable setting of 'A're you can say' (IV i 44-47). This has a number of similarities to Arne's setting of the same text. It is in a sharp key (E major, where Arne uses A major), and is in 6/8. There are many repetitions of the syllabically-set lyrics, which are interspersed with instrumental interludes. Like Arne, Defesch also singles out the word 'tripping' for additional repetition. Yet despite these external similarities, Defesch's piece is more delightful than Arne's. However, Defesch did not surpass Arne in his setting of Ariel's final song, 'Where the bee sucks'. Nevertheless, Defesch's is a perfectly competent composition, despite its triple metre making the word-setting a little awkward in places.[30] It is also unusual for being in da capo form. In this final piece Defesch took the opportunity of introducing his longest expressive melismas, with eight bars on 'fly' and eleven on 'hangs'.

It is a little surprising that Defesch did not set Ariel's songs 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five'. Perhaps the music from the Purcell/Weldon version continued to be used, or perhaps the songs were omitted. Unfortunately, we lack a promptbook or acting edition of this production. All we can surmise is that John Lacy, the manager of Drury Lane, used the Theobald

edition of the play (published in 1733) as the basic text for his production. Theobald made two very distinctive emendations to the lyrics of 'Where the bee sucks', which were not adopted by any other editors. In the first line he changed the second 'sucks' to 'lurk', and in the fifth line he altered 'Summer' to 'sunset'. Both of these changes are to be found in Arne's and Defesch's songs.

Why the 1746 production of Shakespeare's play received only six performances is hard to determine, since we lack any contemporary comment on the production.[31] Burney suggests that Mrs Clive managed to sing Defesch's songs 'into public favour',[32] but this was clearly not enough. During the 1745-46 season the more popular Davenant-Dryden alteration of *The Tempest* had continued to play at Goodman's Fields, where it remained for the following season.[33] And when Mrs Clive and Mrs Mozeen next played Ariel and Miranda at Drury Lane (on 26 December 1747) it was in Davenant and Dryden's adaptation.[34] The last appearance of the Davenant-Dryden play during the eighteenth century was at Drury Lane on 27 April 1750.[35]

For six years there were no *Tempest* performances on the London stage. Then, on 11 February 1756, a new operatic adaptation of the play was produced at Drury Lane.[36] Tate Wilkinson recalls its reception:

> The Tempest as an opera in three acts, with recitatives etc. was introduced that season, with a paltry dialogue ... Signora Curioni, an Italian singer, performed in it, but it was dreadfully heavy. - It went through with great labour eight nights, but not without the aid of the garland dance, well performed by sixty children, at the end of the second act, and the pantomime of Fortunatus, or the Genii, after that.[37]

The identity of the librettist is disputed, but the music was composed by J. C. Smith.[38] The previous year his operatic adaptation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, entitled *The Fairies*, had been produced at Drury Lane, with slightly better fortune.[39] William Coxe speculates on the failure of Smith's *Tempest* opera which, incidentally, only received six performances[40]:

> The great success of the Fairies, encouraged Smith to make another attempt in the same species of composition, by setting to music the songs in the Tempest - But although the airs were by no means inferior to those in the Fairies, yet the piece did not meet with the success it deserved; a principal cause of this failure, was probably owing to the negligent manner in which it was brought on the stage. The season was too far advanced, and the decorations were indifferent.[41]

In fact the opera was, according to the prompter Richard Cross, received with 'Great Applause' on its opening night, bringing in receipts of £180.[42] But, as Stone puts it, 'its novelty waned and few seemed to care for it after that'.[43] Some, like Theophilus Cibber, were even quite damning:

> and *The Tempest*, castrated into an opera. - Oh! what an agreeable Lullaby might it have prov'd to our Beaus and Belles, to have heard *Caliban*, *Sycorax*, and one of the Devils trilling of Trios.[44]

The libretto of the opera was published by J. and R. Tonson in 1756. The story is taken not just from Shakespeare but also from Davenant and Dryden, as can be seen, for example, in its use of the echo song between Ferdinand and Ariel, and the sailors' sub-plot.[45] Thus, the characters Ventoso and Mustacho are borrowed from the earlier adaptation, but there is no Dorinda, Hippolito, Milcha or Sycorax in the opera. Nor is there any need for a masque. The title-page of the libretto states: 'The songs from Shakespear, Dryden, etc'. Of the thirty-two songs introduced, the lyrics of four are taken from Shakespeare's *The Tempest* and another four from Davenant and Dryden's 1674 alteration. Ariel's 'Where the bee sucks' is not included, as these words had already been used in Smith's opera *The Fairies* the previous year. Other texts were appropriated from Ben Jonson, Edmund Waller, George Granville, Abraham Cowley, John Dryden and John Hughes. A list of the sources that I have been able to identify is given in Appendix A.

Not printed in the libretto is an introductory dialogue, by way of prologue, which is present in the manuscript of the opera submitted to the Lord Chamberlain for licensing.[46] In this dialogue Heartly persuades Wormwood of the merits of English opera, and of the need to encourage English musical talents. It was spoken at the opera's opening night, when it was 'much hiss'd & dislik'd'.[47] However, when it was omitted from the following performance, it was 'call'd for, & had some Applause'.[48] Although not printed in the libretto of Smith's opera, the dialogue was printed, in a revised form, in the *St James's Magazine* for October 1762.[49]

Smith's music for *The Tempest* was published in full score by John Walsh in 1756. As with *The Fairies*, issued by Walsh the previous year, the score lacks most of the recitatives. However, it does include two very fiery accompanied recitatives. The first, with the eleven lines beginning 'Myself will fly on board', is an extension of Ariel's opening number 'Arise ye subterranean winds'. Full of rushing semiquaver and demi-semiquaver scales and arpeggios, it sets the appropriate stormy atmosphere for this tempestuous opening scene. The second is Prospero's twenty-one line speech beginning 'Now does my project gather to a head'. Here, there are local bursts of activity in the strings in response to such lines as: 'chase the ebbing Neptune' (ascending scales), 'fly him, when he comes back' (descending scales), 'set roaring war', 'bolt' and 'shake'.

Smith's opera contains three duets, one trio, and twenty-eight solo numbers. These are divided as follows:

SOLOS

Ariel (Miss Young)	7
Prospero (Mr Beard)	6
Ferdinand (Signora Curioni)	6
Miranda (Mrs Vernon)	5
Caliban (Mr Champness)	2
Stephano (Mr Rooker)	1
Trincalo (Mr Beard)	1

DUETS

Ferdinand & Ariel
Trincalo & Mustacho (Mr Champness)
Ferdinand & Miranda

TERZETTO
Trincalo & Stephano & Ventoso (Mr Abington)

The overture is taken from Smith's Italian opera *Il Ciro riconosciuto* (1745)[50] and there is an instrumental hornpipe to herald the sailors' entry in the first act. The libretto suggests that the final love duet between Ferdinand and Miranda should give way to a grand concluding chorus. The printed musical score, however, contains no chorus.

It is difficult to judge the effectiveness of Smith's opera looking just at the printed score. Smith's writing seems competent. Inevitably, one or two numbers seem a little dull, such as 'Dry those eyes', yet others appear worth revival. Prospero's 'In tender sighs he silence breaks', for example, is potentially quite a humourous piece, with the scotch snaps and several pauses suggesting Prospero is gently mocking the young lovers - a sentiment quite different from Shakespeare's intention. Although Smith's opera received only six performances, several pieces had an independent afterlife. For example, Ferdinand's 'To what my eyes admir'd before' was printed in the second volume of *Clio and Euterpe*[51], 'Full fathom five' sometimes replaced the so-called Purcell setting in concert performances of the Purcell/Weldon music[52], and the duet 'Whilst blood does flow within these veins' appears in BL: Add MS 31669.[53] However, it was Caliban's two songs, 'No more dams' and 'The owl is abroad', which proved particularly popular. As we shall see, several of Smith's songs were used in later stage productions of *The Tempest*.

Two seasons later, on 20 October 1757, Garrick re-introduced Shakespeare's original *Tempest* at Drury Lane.[54] Unlike the abortive attempt to restore Shakespeare's text in 1746, this production was a successful one, remaining at Drury Lane for twenty years. The principal musical innovation on this occasion was William Boyce's music for the fourth-act masque.[55] Boyce's setting is a far cry from Arne's of eleven years earlier. The text is drastically shorter, employing or adapting only fifteen lines of Shakespeare's play (IV i 106-13, 116-17 and 134-38). To these are added an introductory eight lines:

> Hither, Hymen, speed your way,
> Celebrate this happy day.
> Hither, Ceres, haste away,
> Celebrate this happy day.
> With blithsome look and jocund mein
> Come and tread this short grass green.
> Leave behind you grief and care,
> Come and bless this happy pair.

Just two soloists are required in Boyce's work, a soprano and a tenor, and neither part is vocally demanding.[56] The masque is divided into three sections, each linked by a short recitative, of which the first is an accompanied one. The key structure is simple, with the central piece in G major and the outer two in C major. Metre and orchestration is varied between the numbers. The first piece is a solo, in 3/8, accompanied by two violins, viola and basso continuo. This is followed by a duet, in common time, to which two flutes are added to the accompaniment. The final number, also a

duet, functions as a rousing choral finale. It is in 6/8, and the accompaniment is further supplemented by two horns.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly what other music was used in this 1757 production. A book of the songs and choruses from the play was apparently issued gratis at the theatre, but there are now no extant copies.[57] The nearest we have to a prompt-copy is the Bell edition of 1774. This claims to present the text 'As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane'.[58] While in broad terms this description may be accurate enough, in some of the musical details this is not the case. As may be expected in an acting edition, the Bell publication shows a number of omissions from Shakespeare's text.[59] It also has the altered words of the fourth-act masque as set by Boyce, although the layout is not entirely accurate.[60] However, it is with Ariel's songs that the Bell edition is least helpful. Some care is taken with the final two songs. 'Where the bee sucks' contains Theobald's emendations, which suggests that Arne's setting was used. And 'Before you can say, come and go', not identified as a song in the First Folio, is here clearly marked 'AIR'. It was probably Smith's composition that was used, since Isabella Young, the Ariel on this occasion, also took the role of Ariel in Smith's opera two seasons earlier.[61] Smith's additional second stanza, however, is not included.

The remaining three Ariel songs are problematic, since they are all printed as they are in the First Folio, and not as set by any composer.[62] Smith's settings of 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five' may well have been used initially, but I suspect that they were later replaced by the Purcell/Weldon settings. The remaining Ariel song, 'While you here do snoring lie', however, was not set by Smith, and I doubt that Defesch's composition was used. That the song was indeed sung is implied in a review of a later Covent Garden adaptation of the play in 1776:

> The omission of *Sebastian* and *Antonio's* plot to murder *Alonzo* must be missed, if, abstracted from the merit of the scene, we consider only the loss of Purcell's divine air, which he set for *Ariel*, who wakes the King and *Gonzalo* with, *While you here do snoring lie, etc!*[63]

Unfortunately, the reviewer does not help us to identify the composer, as Purcell did not set these lyrics. Nor did Weldon, since this was one of the scenes omitted in the Davenant-Dryden adaptation. However, there is extant an anonymous setting of these words, once thought to be by Arne. It was first published by John Caulfield *c*1825,[64] and the attribution to Arne suggested by Alfred Roffe in 1878.[65] This attribution has since been rejected by John Parkinson, though solely on the grounds that Arne is not named 'in any other source'.[66] The setting is fairly short and simple, and I see no reason to doubt that it could be of eighteenth-century origin.

During the twenty years that this particular production ran at Drury Lane a number of other songs were added. For example, Vernon as Ferdinand, Champness as Caliban, and both Mrs Baddeley and later Mrs Smith as Miranda all introduced songs into their roles.[67] I suspect that most of these were taken from Smith's opera. Champness had played Caliban in Smith's opera, and no doubt introduced Smith's 'No more dams' and 'The owl is abroad' into the play. Judging by which Smith pieces we know were used in later stage productions, I believe that one of Ferdinand's songs

was almost certainly 'To what my eyes admir'd before', and Miranda's song was probably 'Sweetness, truth, and ev'ry grace'. In addition, it seems that some extra Arne songs were also introduced by Mrs Arne as Ariel on 4 April 1767.[68] Whether these were some of Arne's earlier settings, or new compositions, is unclear.

As well as all these songs, dancing naturally played an important part in this *Tempest* production. The première on 20 October 1757 promised 'a Grand Dance of Fantastic Spirits [occurring after 'Come unto these yellow sands']; and a Pastoral Dance proper to the Masque by Delater, Giorgi, Sga Lucchi etc'.[69] Similar comments are made in most subsequent advertisements.

Garrick's version of *The Tempest* was superseded at Drury Lane by Sheridan's new production in January 1777. However, several days before it opened, an operatic adaptation of *The Tempest* was offered at Covent Garden. Since no promptbook or acting edition of this adaptation survives, almost all we know about this production comes from newspaper advertisements and reviews. The première was on 27 December 1776, and the following day's *Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser* describes its chief characteristics:

> An Operatical mutilation of Shakespeare's Comedy of the *Tempest*, was performed here last night; *Miranda* and *Ferdinand* have now each of them two airs, notwithstanding which the whole is here reduced into three acts. The alterations consist of cuttings and transpositions; the *masque* is judiciously brought from the fourth act into the last scene, by which means the piece is wound up much more dramatically than it was wont to be.

Attention is drawn also to the omission of the assassination attempt on Alonzo, as quoted earlier. The reviewer was clearly not impressed by the singing:

> Mrs. *Farrell* [Ariel] has certainly a fine tenor kind of voice, but she is very far from possessing that delicate kind of pipe, which the invinsible agent certainly requires[,] not to say any thing of her figure upon the occasion, which instead of "*being able to lye in a cowslips bell*!" - is a full head and shoulders taller, and some few inches wider across the girt than the present *Prospero*.

This contrasts with the opinion of the reviewer in the *London Chronicle* for December 26-28 1776:

> we are in justice obliged to confess that the alterations of the Tempest are extremely well concerted. The music is excellent, and its merit is considerably heightened by the masterly manner in which it is executed by the orchestre. As to the vocal parts, Miss Brown [Miranda] deserved the highest applause; Mrs. Farrell did likewise great justice to her musical task. The rest of the performers paid the strictest attention to their parts.

Similar sentiments are expressed in *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* for 28 December 1776, where we also learn that the work was 'received with great and universal applause', but that 'Mr. Mattocks [Ferdinand] did not exceed his usual line of mediocrity'.

More information about the music used in this production is given in the review in the *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser* for 28 December 1776:

> The Music, which is partly the composition of Purcel, of Smith, Arne, and Fisher, has considerable merit, though the Airs are very unequally set. The performers in general did justice to their characters. Mrs. Farrell (who possesses one of the finest voices we ever heard, and sings with a degree of distinctness and power of execution, which reminded us of the old method before the ear was sported with by the modern custom of introducing a variety of unnatural shakes, which are not only difficult to execute, but which distract the attention, and deprive the hearer of knowing the words of the Airs sung) deservedly met with the warmest applause. Miss Brown looked prettily in Miranda ... and spoke the words with more feeling and propriety than she is accustomed to exhibit.

The review ends, as does that in the *London Chronicle* quoted above, with the three airs that 'were most applauded'. These are Mrs Farrell's 'Arise ye subterraneous [*sic*] winds' and 'Where the bee sucks', and Miss Brown's 'Sweetness, truth and every grace'. The setting used for the first song is undoubtedly the Purcell/Weldon one, despite the omission of one line. Theobald's emendations make it clear that Arne's 'Where the bee sucks' was sung, and Miranda's song is taken from the Smith *Tempest* opera of 1756. Apart from these, we also know of a fourth song used in this production, and that is a setting of 'Bid your faithful Ariel fly' composed by Arne. This was published in his collection *The Syren* (London, [1777]), where it is headed 'The New Air in the Tempest Sung by Mrs Farrell In the Character of Ariel'. Unfortunately, none of Fisher's music has survived. Nor do we know anything about the dances in this production, except that they were performed by 'Mr. Aldridge, Miss Valois, and others'.[70]

The Covent Garden operatic adaptation of *The Tempest* received only seven performances between its première on 27 December 1776 and its final night on 13 May 1779.[71] Its demise was no doubt due, at least in part, to the unexpected popularity of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's production of *The Tempest*, which opened at Drury Lane on 4 January 1777.[72] This new production ran for ten years, with a notable eighteen performances in its opening season.[73]

The 1777 Drury Lane *Tempest* was a revision of the previous Drury Lane production. No acting text was published, but a carefully marked-up prompt-copy survives at the New York Public Library.[74] This shows quite a few cuts to the Bell 1774 edition of the play, including the omission of the initial storm scene (which was replaced by a chorus and special effects). The play, however, remained in five acts and, in line with other productions, this latest Drury Lane *Tempest* alteration featured 'New Music, Scenes, Dresses and Decorations'.[75] The new music was composed by Thomas Linley Junior, and the scenery was designed by de Loutherbourg.[76] The dancing included a 'Dance of Spirits' in the first act, with the 'Grand Ballet' *The Double Festival* at the end of the fourth act, both by Gallet, as well as a 'Fantastic dance' in the third act.[77] The promptbook (p258) also calls for a 'Pigmy Dance' in the third act, which replaced the 'dance of fantastic spirits' in later performances.[78]

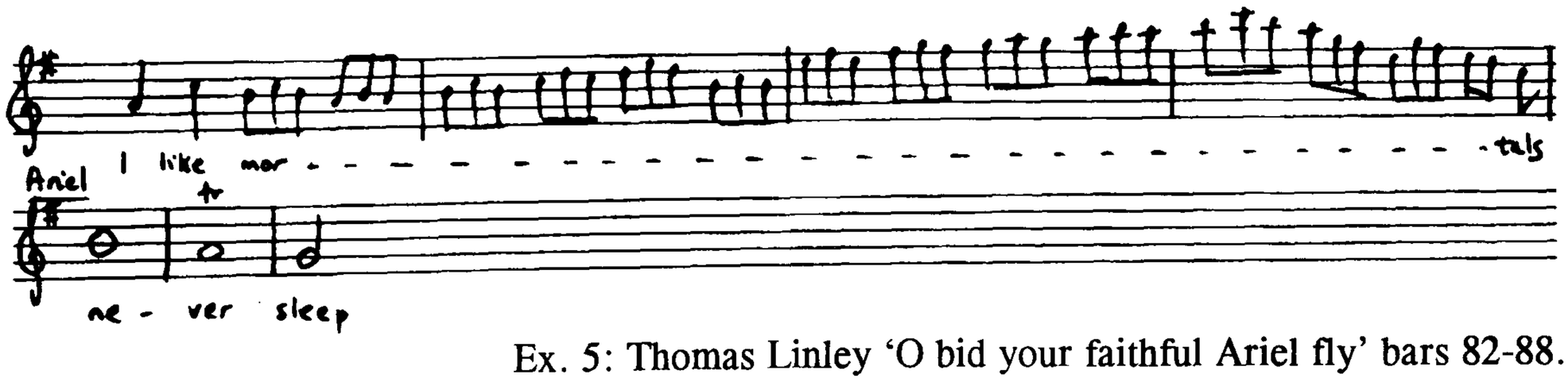
Linley's contribution to this 1777 Drury Lane production is preserved in a manuscript copied by the theatre scribe Joseph Gaudry in 1780, two years after Linley's tragically premature death.[79] It comprises an opening storm chorus, replacing the text of the initial scene, four songs for Ariel - one including a chorus-, and a concluding chorus to 'Where the bee sucks'. This last chorus is, in fact, an

arrangement of William Jackson's choral extension of Arne's song.[80] To the four-part chorus Linley has added horns, oboes, bassoons and strings. The same accompaniment, but with the addition of trumpets and timpani, is also used in the storm chorus. The words of the chorus are:

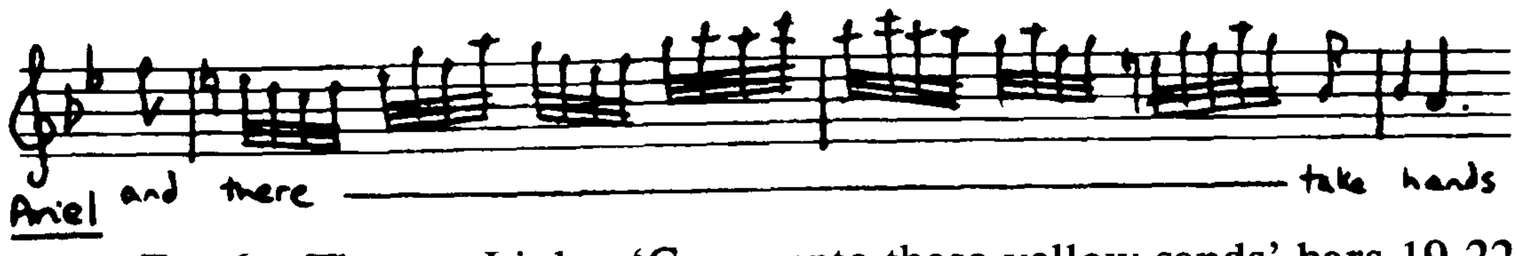
> Arise, ye spirits of the storm,
> Appal the guilty eye;
> Tear the wild waves, ye mighty winds,
> Ye fated lightnings fly,
> Dart thro' the tempest of the deep,
> And rocks and seas confound,
> Hark how the vengeful thunders roll,
> Amazement flames around.
> Behold the fate-devoted bark
> Dash'd on the trembling shore;
> Mercy the sinking wretches cry!
> Mercy! - they're heard no more.

Predictably, the composition is more or less in an arch form, starting with soft insistent repeated quavers in the strings, building up as the storm grows fiercer, and then subsiding in slower chords, with a faint echo of the opening bars indicating the final passing of the storm. The chorus parts are mostly homophonic and fairly steady, against which are the increasingly agitated string parts. This piece became one of the 'smash hits' of the eighteenth century, and was used in *Tempest* productions well into the nineteenth century.

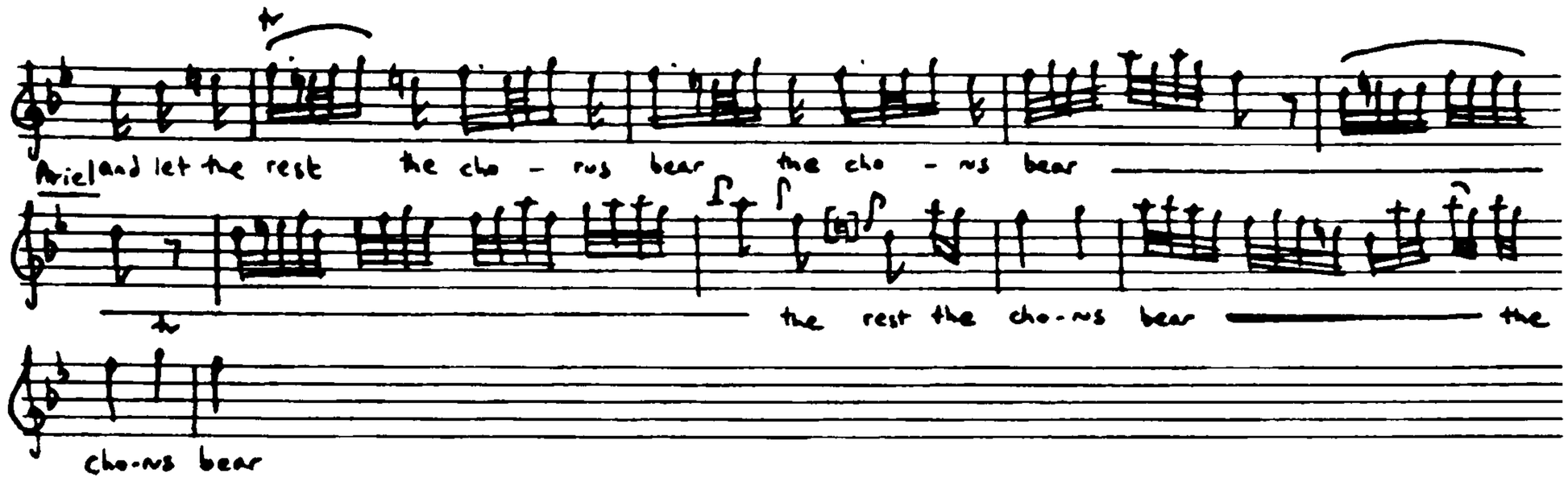
Linley's Ariel songs were written for his star pupil, the young Ann Field.[81] The first two songs, 'O bid your faithful Ariel fly' and 'Come unto these yellow sands', were clearly written to show off Miss Field's vocal prowess - as can be seen from the virtuosity required in musical examples 5, 6a and 6b below.



Ex. 5: Thomas Linley 'O bid your faithful Ariel fly' bars 82-88.



Ex. 6a: Thomas Linley 'Come unto these yellow sands' bars 19-22.



Ex. 6b: Thomas Linley 'Come unto these yellow sands' bars 32-42.

To the accompaniment of four-part strings was also added an obbligato oboe in both these numbers.[82] Unlike Arne and Smith, Linley also composed a four-part chorus to conclude 'Come unto these yellow sands'. In the Egerton manuscript, however, this is given in D major, whereas the preceding solo is in Bb major. Horns, oboes, bassoons and drum are added to the accompaniment for this chorus. The remaining Ariel songs, 'While you here do sleeping lie' and 'Eer you can say', are significantly less virtuosic, and seem more to resemble the earlier settings of these songs, particularly those by Defesch. 'While you here do sleeping lie', like Defesch's song, is in two parts, opening with a slow section, pausing on 'take', and then launching into a more sprightly setting of the remaining text. 'Eer you can say', like both Defesch's and Arne's songs, is in 6/8 and in a sharp key (A major).[83] For this piece Linley uses flutes, rather than oboes, and strings. Of these four songs 'O bid your faithful Ariel fly' is the only one which gained any lasting popularity.

It is clear from both the promptbook and copies of word books of the songs[84] that Linley's was not the only music used. 'Full fathom five' was apparently sung not by Ariel, but 'by a Spirit'.[85] Since the final two lines are marked as sung by a chorus of spirits this suggests it was the Purcell/Weldon setting of the words, rather than Smith's, that was used. However, three songs from Smith's opera were used: Caliban's 'The owl is abroad' and 'No more dams', and Ferdinand's 'To what my eyes admir'd before'. As already implied, Arne's setting of 'Where the bee sucks' was also used. Such was the popularity of this song that it appears to have been sung at least twice during the play. It was first sung in its correct position, without choral addition. It was then given, in place of the Epilogue, as the closing number: 'Finalle / Where the Bee Sucks & repeated /As Quarteto & Chorus'.[86]

One other song is given in the word-book, and this is Stephano's 'The Master, the Swabber, the Boatswain and I'. The only apparently eighteenth-century tune for these words that has come down to us is that published by Caulfield.[87] Labelled 'Stephano's songs, as sung by Mr [John] Bannister', there are settings of 'I shall no more' and 'The Master, the Swabber', with the two preceded by a three-part setting of the catch 'Flout em and scout em', here attributed to Henry Purcell. According to the promptbook, all three of these songs were sung in the 1777 production. John Bannister, however, first played the part of Stephano at Drury Lane only on 22 February 1797.[88] Nevertheless, it is possible that John Moody, who preceded Bannister in this role, may also have used these tunes presented by Caulfield. There are two interesting things to note about the settings. First, the tune used for 'I shall no more' is also the one, according to Caulfield, which was used for the

Gravedigger's song in *Hamlet*.[89] It is, in fact, a ballad tune known as 'The Children in the Wood'.[90] Secondly, 'The Master, the Swabber' has only the first five lines (up to 'tang') and the final line set, with a pause on the word 'tang'. The intervening lines, which were presumably at least said if not sung, may have been considered, by Caulfield, too obscene to print.[91] As for the catch, 'Flout em and Scout em', I do not know if there is any theatrical tradition behind the music printed by Caulfield.

Three final musical observations need to be made concerning the 1777 Drury Lane *Tempest* production. First, the promptbook makes it clear that the fourth-act masque was omitted and replaced by a dance. Secondly, there are numerous cues in the promptbook for 'music', such as the 'marvellous sweet music' heard by Alonzo and Gonzalo in the third act. Unfortunately, we lack music both for these effects and also for the dances. However, we do know that some of the background music was 'played behind the scenes' by a musical instrument - 'the Invention of Mr Merlin'.[92] John Joseph Merlin specialised in creating combinations of pianos and harpsichords.[93] Exactly which instrument was used on this occasion is not clear.[94] Once again, the music used has not survived.

A long and detailed review of the 1777 Drury lane production appeared in *The Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser* for 6 January 1777. Among other comments is a description of Ann Field's contribution: 'The child who performed the part of Ariel, acquitted herself very creditably; her manner of acting was extremely pleasing, and her singing delicate and pretty, but as may naturally be expected from a child, rather too weak'. We also read that the 'shower of flammable matter', presumably accompanying the storm chorus, filled the stage with smoke, and left the audience coughing violently for two acts. From advertisements at the beginning of the following season we learn that the storm chorus was moved to the beginning of the second act, a position it retained into the nineteenth century.[95]

The final performance of the Sheridan production of *The Tempest* was on 4 June 1787.[96] Just over two years later, on 13 October 1789, London witnessed its final major *Tempest* adaptation of the century.[97] This was an alteration by John Philip Kemble, published by J. Debrett in 1789, which 'restores' some of the Davenant-Dryden material long since abandoned by other managers.[98] Dorinda and Hippolito are resurrected, as is the masque of devils and the masque of Neptune and Amphitrite.[99]

Musically, Kemble seems to have chosen the most popular *Tempest* numbers from the previous 75 years. From the Purcell/Weldon *Tempest* we have Ariel's songs 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five', as well as the masques just mentioned. However, the masques are drastically shortened. The devils' masque, sung by furies and placed in the third act, comprises only the opening duet and first chorus. From the masque of Neptune and Amphitrite just the solo number 'Halcyon days' is used. However, the four lines of text are marked 'Duet' and the last two lines are repeated, with the heading 'Chorus of Tritons, Nereids, etc', thus this is clearly a re-arrangement of the original. Not surprisingly, Arne's 'Where the bee sucks', with Jackson's extension, is also included. However, it is unclear whether or not Linley's version of Jackson was used.[100] At least two of Linley's other pieces were, however, used. These are the storm chorus, which opens the second act, and the solo 'O bid your faithful Ariel fly'. It is unclear whether Linley's music was also used

for Ariel's remaining song, 'Before you can say'. Although Linley's opening word is 'Eer', in the 1777 word-book of the songs it is given as 'Before', which is how it stands in the promptbook. If not Linley's, then I suppose Smith's setting may have been used.

We know that four other songs were also sung in this production. Two of these are Stephano's songs 'I shall no more' and 'The Master, the Swabber', which have been discussed above. The remaining two songs, however, were specially written for this production, and were composed by Michael Kelly. Kelly took the part of Ferdinand, and Miranda was played by his on- and off-stage lover Mrs Anna Maria Crouch. Kelly's songs comprise a solo for Miranda, and a duet for the pair of them. The words of Miranda's solo are:

> To see thee so gentle a creature distrest,
> With tears fills mine eyes, and with sorrow my breast;
> O wou'd I possess'd of my father the art,
> Or that I had his power, or he had my heart.
> With tears I'll entreat him, with sighs I'll assail,
> Can the sigh of my soul with my father e'er fail.[101]

The setting is nothing special, but is fully orchestrated for horns, oboe, bassoon, strings and basso continuo. A similar orchestra, but with two oboes, accompanies the duet. The words are:

> What new delights invade my bosom,
> In every vein what rapture plays;
> Whilst on thee I fondly gaze.
> O thou art source of all my pleasure,
> Treasure of my soul art thou.
> Without measure, am'rous pleasure
> Crowns my nights and wings my days.

Again, the setting is not very distinguished.

Finally, there were four performances of *The Tempest* at the Haymarket theatre between 15 November 1793 and 4 January 1794.[102] The cast lists suggest that it was Kemble's adaptation that was used at the theatre. There is no evidence of any new music being used in this production.

Twelfth Night, or What You Will

Twelfth Night was one of half a dozen Shakespeare comedies that were first revived, more or less as Shakespeare wrote them, in the 1740s. Prior to this there had been just a couple of performances of a heavily adapted version of *Twelfth Night* at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1703 and 1705.[1] This adaptation, entitled *Love Betray'd; or, The Agreable Disapointment* [*sic*], was written by William Burnaby and published by D. Brown and others in 1703.[2] Whilst broadly following the outline of Shakespeare's story, Burnaby rewrote the play, mainly in prose, and changed most of the characters' names.[3] Yet, oddly, he retained some fifty-seven lines from the original, which are indicated by double inverted commas.

In keeping with the popular demand for music in plays at the time, Burnaby required two songs and a celebratory concluding masque. Settings of both songs survive.[4] The first, 'If I hear Orinda swear', opens the second act of the play. It is sung by Caesario to comfort, indeed indulge, the Duke's lovesickness. Despite continual rebuffs, the Duke (Moreno) grows ever more in love with Villaretta (=Olivia). This is reflected in the lyrics:

> The Treachery becomes the Fair
> And doubly fires my Heart.

and:

> She gives the greatest Pleasure,
> That gives the greatest Pain.[5]

'Soft Musick' follows, and then three lines from Shakespeare's original, beginning 'If Musick be the Food of Love'. The setting, by John Eccles, sung, as is believed, by an adolescent boy, is appropriately unsophisticated in style.[6] The words are set mostly syllabically, and length is obtained through repetition of lines. The piece is in binary form, the first half comprising the opening stanza and a different melody serving the second. The song was printed in the *Monthly Mask* for January 1703, which suggests that the play was first performed that month at the latest.[7] It is entitled 'A SONG in the Comedy call'd Love betraid, Sung by M^rs^ Bracegirdle Sett by M^r^ John Eccles'.

The second song occurs in the third act of the play. At this point Villaretta, who has scorned love, now finds herself hopelessly in love with Caesario. She is mocked by her maid, Emilia, who sings a song beginning 'Cloe met Love for his Psiche in Fears'.[8] The words of this song reveal Emilia to be a more worldly-wise character than her mistress. It was also set by John Eccles, and is found in the Walsh *Collection of the Choicest Songs* [*c*1704].[9] Here it is labelled 'A SONG Sung by M^rs^ Prince in the agreeable Disapointment Set by M^r^ John Eccles'. Once again the simple syllabic setting seems most apt for the character singing it.

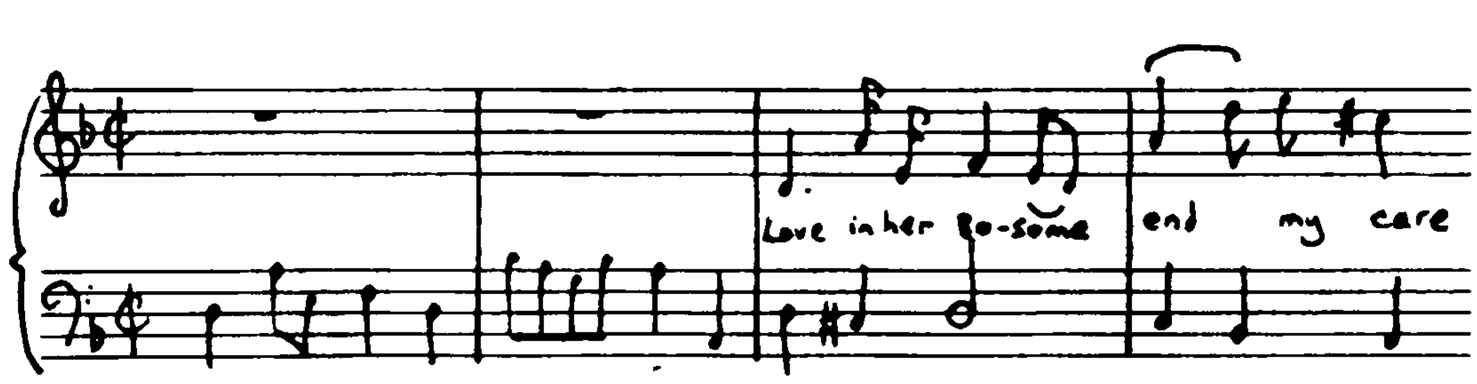
It is interesting that the naming of the singers in the publications of these songs confirms the hypothesis put forward by F. E. Budd concerning the correct cast list for the first performance.[10] Budd noted that the Dramatis Personae in the 1703 edition of the play is incomplete as it omits the character Emilia, and also the actress Mrs Barry, who spoke the Epilogue. The content of this

Epilogue strongly suggests that Mrs Barry took the part of Villaretta, not Mrs Bracegirdle as printed in the Dramatis Personae. Budd speculated that Mrs Bracegirdle probably played Caesario, and Mrs Prince the part of Emilia. As already seen, this is entirely supported by the printed songs.

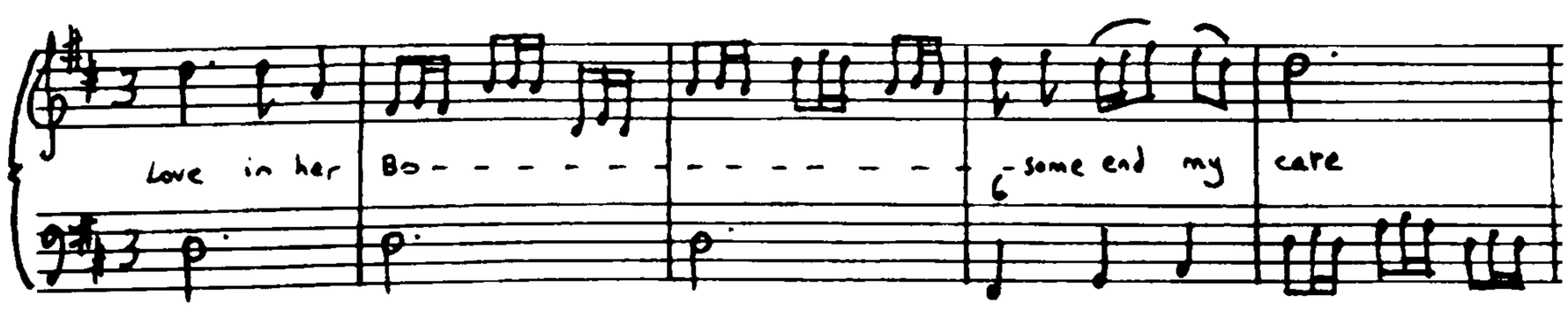
The 1703 edition of *Love Betray'd* does not provide the words for the celebratory wedding masque called for at the end of the play. Burnaby clearly wrote a text since, in the Preface to this edition, he complains:

> The Conduct of the Drama I broke by design, to make room for a Mask that is mention'd in the last Act, but the House neglecting to have it Set to Musick, the Play came on like a change of Government, the weight of the Calamity fell among the Poor; that is, the chief Persons only were taken care of without any regard to those of Inferiour consideration.

This is not the entire story, however. Although the masque itself was not set, the play did not end completely without music. It seems that the masque was replaced by a 'Marriage' song. There survive two different settings of a text (not present in the 1703 edition of the play) beginning 'Love in her Bosome end my Care'. One bears the title 'A Song in Love Betray'd, the Words by M^r^ Burnaby, Set to Musick by W^m^ Corbett, Sung by M^r^ Davis, & exactly engrav'd by Tho. Cross'.[11] The other is headed 'The Marrige [*sic*] SONG Sung by M^rs^ Hudson in the Agreeable Disapointment Set by M^r^ John Weldon'.[12] The style of the former song is less florid than the latter, as a comparison of the settings of the opening line reveals:



Ex. 1a: William Corbett 'Love in her Bosome' bars 1-4.



Ex. 1b: John Weldon 'Love in her Bosome' bars 1-5.

Both pieces are in two distinct sections. Corbett's song begins in duple time and moves to triple metre for the second half, whereas Weldon's composition moves from triple to duple metre.

The question arises as to when these songs were performed, since it is highly unlikely that any production of the play would have included two different settings of the same text. It might seem reasonable to assume that one was used for the première in 1703 and the other for the revival in 1705. Nevertheless, I should like to suggest that both songs were composed close together in 1703, first Corbett's and then Weldon's. Weldon's song was published in the *Monthly Mask* for March 1703, but appears to have been used also in 1705. For that revival we know that there was some 'Singing by

Mrs Hodgson',[13] and Hudson is an alternative spelling for Hodgson at this time. That Corbett's song was written first would tie in with the fact that he also wrote a set of act tunes for the play. These were published, in four partbooks, by Walsh. According to William C. Smith these act tunes were first advertised in the *Post Man* for 23-25 February 1703.[14] They were subsequently reissued as part of *Harmonia Anglicana* V.[15] The music comprises an overture followed by eight dance movements, all in D major and all in simple binary form.[16] They were evidently composed for the première in 1703.

Thirty-six years elapsed between the second unsuccessful production of Burnaby's *Love Betray'd* and the revival of Shakespeare's original *Twelfth Night*. This occurred on 15 January 1741.[17] After a good initial run the play remained in the repertory, seeing several more productions in each of the following decades, and then at least one performance every year from 1771 until the end of the century (excluding 1781). Advertisements indicate that there was singing by one or two characters in the play during many of these productions.

Shakespeare requires music of three different kinds in his play. First there is background 'mood' music. Such music opens the play, and is also present in the fourth scene of the second act. In both cases it serves a similar function. These are the two occasions when we meet the Duke at his own home, and these are his only two appearances prior to the resolutions of the fifth act. The indulgent music helps paint a picture of a melancholic, and somewhat pathetic, lovesick Duke.

The second kind of music comprises drunken snatches of popular tunes. These occur in the third scene of the second act and are sung by Feste (the clown) and Sir Toby Belch, with Sir Andrew Aguecheek probably joining in the initial catch.[18] The function of these snatches is merely to characterise the drunken state of the singers.

Finally, there are a number of more substantial songs, all sung by Feste, though one of them with Sir Toby. Singing is a perfectly acceptable part of Feste's persona, as a 'mad' character. The songs also serve to reflect on situations, and reinforce the play's overriding preoccupation with love. Feste's first song, 'O mistress mine', is sung to the revelling Sir Toby and Sir Andrew before they break into the more boisterous merriment of singing a catch. It is a love song that can be performed either wistfully or in more jocular vein. It seems to be addressed to Olivia on behalf of all her lovers: first the Duke and Sir Andrew, later Malvolio, and eventually Sebastian.

The second song occurs a little later in the same scene. It is initiated by the drunken Sir Toby, with alternate lines provided by Feste. These are interspersed with single-line interjections from Maria and Malvolio. Sir Toby and Feste sing, as a single stanza, a compressed version of the first two stanzas of a well-known ayre by Robert Jones, 'Farewell, dear heart'.[19] Malvolio has come out to stop the noise of the revellers. Taking their cue from his words 'bid you farewell', Sir Toby and Feste mock him as they sing this song of a reluctant, rejected, departing lover.

As with the 'mood' music in the play, this next song serves to indulge the Duke's melancholia and self-pity. Sung as it were in the Duke's person, 'Come away death' reveals the immature nature of his infatuation, as he envisages death as the natural, melodramatic response to Olivia's rejection. In complete contrast, Feste's following two songs serve to taunt Malvolio. We are now in the fourth

act, and the supposedly insane Malvolio has been locked away in darkness. 'Hey Robin, jolly Robin' is a harsh reminder that Olivia is not the least interested in Malvolio, as he had been led to believe, but 'loves another'. 'I am gone, Sir', like 'Farewell, dear heart', is an exit song in response to Malvolio's request to be left alone. The words of this song, however, are not of love, but of the devil and madmen.

Feste's final song, 'When that I was and a little tiny boy', has long puzzled critics, with many doubting Shakespeare's authorship.[20] It is a slightly nonsensical description of the ages of man, and its unromantic, and somewhat harsh, depiction of life brings us back to reality rather like the concluding songs 'When daisies pied' and 'When icicles hang' in *Love's Labour's Lost*.

Our knowledge of what music was used in eighteenth-century performances of *Twelfth Night* comes mainly from printed music, the Bell 1773 and Lowndes 1792 acting editions of the play, and a promptbook, dated 1798, at the British Library.[21] Perhaps not surprisingly no 'mood' music specific to the play is identifiable. With one exception we also lack music for the drunken snatches. These vary a little from the original in the Bell and Lowndes editions. The Bell edition gives all the lines to Sir Toby, with Sir Andrew and the clown joining in a catch a few lines later (though no lyrics are provided for this catch). In the Lowndes edition the scene is expanded and there are some additional lines:

> Christmas comes but once a year,
> And therefore we'll be merry.

and:

> Which is the properest day to drink,
> Saturday! Sunday! Monday?

On both of these occasions the Drury Lane prompter for 1798 indicated that the drunken trio should 'Dance the Hay'. Music exists for these last two lines, which are the beginning of a popular four-voice glee by Thomas Arne. (This had won a Prize Medal in 1765 and seems to have been printed by several different publishers in the 1770s.) We lack music, however, for 'Farewell, dear heart', 'Hey Robin, jolly Robin' and 'I am gone, Sir'. Of these last two songs both the Bell and the Lowndes editions indicate that only the first two lines were sung.

Of the more substantial songs in the play it seems that Feste's 'O mistress mine' was cut from performance. There are no extant eighteenth-century settings, and it is omitted in the Bell and Lowndes editions. There are two settings of 'Come away death', however, both by Thomas Arne. The first of these was published in *The Songs in the Comedies called As You Like It, and Twelfth Night* (London, [1741]). The song is marked as 'Sung by M^{r} Lowe', who played not the clown but the Duke. This beautiful setting is in F minor, and fully scored for four-part strings, marked 'con sordini', with figured bass. The same melody is used twice, though there are subtle modifications for the second stanza. The fourth line of each stanza is repeated in Arne's setting, the repeat being more anguished and leaping to the highest note of the piece, a top Ab, to emphasise first 'slain' and then 'corps[e]'. As confirmed by advertisements, this setting was used at the revival of the play in 1741.

It is surprising that, having composed such a masterpiece, Arne should have set the same words again some thirty or so years later. This second version shares many similarities with the first. It is in F minor and in compound duple time. It is scored for four-part strings, with figured bass, and the words are set syllabically. The second stanza uses the same basic melody as the first, though more radically modified than in the earlier setting. In this version the melody is rather simpler, possibly for a less able singer, there is no repetition of the fourth line, and the whole effect is more pathetic and less anguished than that of the earlier setting.

It is unclear when Arne's second setting of 'Come away death' was composed. It was first published in *The Music in the Comedy of Twelfth Night* (Harrison: London, [1786]), where it is marked 'Sung in the Character of the Duke' but with no singer's name given. Gooch and Thatcher suggest that the song may have been composed for the revival of the play at Covent Garden on 31 March 1772.[22] This seems to be confirmed by advertisements informing us that this production, the first at Covent Garden, contained 'Three Incidental *Songs* ... The Music of Two by Dr Arne'.[23] However, the singers are named as Reinhold and Mrs Mattocks. Whereas Mrs Mattocks took the part of Olivia, Reinhold is not part of the cast list: the Duke was played by Hull and the clown by Dyer. I would suggest that Reinhold sang this song not in the second act, where it really belongs, but at the very start of the play. There are two circumstances which would seem to support this hypothesis. First, for the performance of *Twelfth Night* at the same theatre on 17 March 1777, we learn that Mrs Farrell sang a song in the initial act.[24] We do not know what song she sang but, like Reinhold, she was not part of the cast for the play. The opening of the play would seem the most appropriate place for a song, though there are other possibilities. Secondly, the Bell edition of 1773 shows that, by this date, 'Come away death' was normally omitted from performances. In preparing this edition Francis Gentleman supposedly consulted promptbooks at both Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and the Dramatis Personae gives the most recent cast list from both theatres. However, it is always possible that Gentleman used only the Drury Lane promptbooks. It should also be remembered that the Harrison publication was, as it were, a scholarly collection of songs from *Twelfth Night*, and does not represent what actually happened on the stage. Thus, we need not take too seriously the remark 'Sung in the Character of the Duke', which applies more accurately, as we have seen, to Arne's first setting.

That 'Come away death' continued normally not to be sung in performances of *Twelfth Night* is quite clear from the Lowndes 1792 edition and the 1798 promptbook. Further evidence of its omission is provided by James Boaden, who commented that the song 'wandered about the pendulous world a long while, until at last Kelly and Crouch bound it fast to the *Pizarro* of Sheridan and Kotzebue'.[25] Michael Kelly was responsible for compiling the music for the hugely successful *Pizarro*, which was first staged in 1799. However, I can find no evidence of the inclusion of 'Come away death' in any of the editions of the play or musical sources published that year. Perhaps it was inserted early the following century.

With Sir Toby Belch being cast as the principal drunken singer, the omission of 'O mistress mine', and 'Come away death' being sung by the Duke, it would seem that, initially, Feste was not

played by an actor who was a good singer. This changed in 1763 when Joseph Vernon took on the role. The performance at Drury Lane on 19 October 1763 advertised, for the first time, the clown 'with Song in Character'.[26] Later, this is qualified as 'Epilogue song'. A setting of these verses as sung, and apparently composed, by Vernon was first published in 1772.[27] It is written in a folk-like style, set syllabically, with simple rhythms, no wide melodic leaps and all within the compass of a minor sixth. The voice is accompanied by two violins and figured bass. This epilogue song continued to be sung in stage performances to the end of the century. However, for reasons just outlined, I believe it was either spoken or omitted entirely from productions of *Twelfth Night* prior to 1763.

The songs originally required by Shakespeare were not the only ones to be included in eighteenth-century performances of *Twelfth Night*. From its first revival in 1741 there developed a tradition of Olivia singing during the play. The song that was chosen varied through the century. The Bell edition indicates that it was inserted at the end of the third scene of the third act, after her second encounter with Cesario. This parallels Emilia's singing to Villaretta in *Love Betray'd*, though this time it is the lover herself who sings.

The first song for Olivia to be introduced into *Twelfth Night* was 'Tell me where is fancy bred' from *The Merchant of Venice*. This was set by Thomas Arne, and published (in 1741) in the same collection that contains his first setting of 'Come away death', where it is indicated as being 'Sung by M^{rs} Clive in Twelfth Night'. Omitting the lines from 'Let us all ring fancy's knell' it is treated as a pure love song. It is a mainly syllabic setting, with a few expressive melismas on 'reply', 'dyes' and 'cradle'. There is a particularly striking neapolitan sixth to emphasise the first 'dyes'. The song is scored for soprano voice with two treble instruments and a figured bass accompaniment.

For how long this song continued to be sung by Olivia is unclear. After 1746 the first mention again of Olivia 'with song' is for the Drury Lane performance of 10 December 1771, where the role was played by Mrs Abington.[28] A new song was introduced on this occasion. There survive two different sets of words to the same tune, both apparently sung by Mrs Abington in performances of *Twelfth Night*. The earliest, with the words 'How imperfect is expression', was first published in the same collection as that containing Vernon's Epilogue song.[29] Here it is called 'The French Air in Twelfth Night Sung by M^{rs} Abington the words translated from the French by H. Kelly Esq^{r}'. It is a very simple tune, with an unadventurous bass part consisting almost entirely of tonic and dominant notes. I know the origin neither of the tune nor its words.

At the Folger Shakespeare Library in Washington D.C. there is another version of this French air, but with words taken from Henry Carey.[30] Headed 'A New Song Adapted to the favourite French Air as Sung by Mrs Abington in Twelfth Night', the words begin 'Trust not man for he'll deceive you'. This is a little surprising, for whereas 'How imperfect is expression' is a love song, this one clearly is not, and would not have been suitable in the third act of the play.[31] It is possible that this song, with the new words, was sung much earlier in the play, before Olivia meets Cesario. However, I believe that this 'New song' was never performed in *Twelfth Night*, but that this publication was merely capitalising on the success of the French air that Mrs Abington was then singing in the play, by publishing it with new words. A later edition of the music has an additional

instrumental part (presumably a violin) to shadow the voice, often a third or sixth below it, with a rather more exciting bass part.[32]

The final song known to have been inserted into *Twelfth Night* was transferred from another play. This is 'What wakes this new pain in my breast'. It was published by Longman and Broderip [1790?], where we learn that it was 'Sung by M^rs^ Crouch in Twelfth Night'. The lyrics come from Leonard Macnally's play *The Fashionable Levities*, which was first performed at Covent Garden in 1785, when Mrs Martyr took the part of Clara, who sang this song.[33] After its initial run the play was then not acted again until 1792. In the meantime it seems that Mrs Crouch sang this piece in Drury Lane productions of *Twelfth Night*, possibly from as early on as the performance on 11 November 1785.[34] Written in the *galant* style, the work is scored for four-part strings, harpsichord and oboe. Not surprisingly, it is a love song.

It is clear from advertisements that other songs also were introduced into eighteenth-century performances of *Twelfth Night*. For example, at Covent Garden on 31 March 1772 we are informed that two songs that were used were composed by Arne.[35] One was presumably the second setting of 'Come away death', but we do not know what the other was. Also, for this production three incidental songs are advertised in total, but we have no details of this third song either. (The Epilogue song had already been mentioned separately earlier in the advertisement.) As noted before, Mrs Farrell sang a song in the first act of the performance at Covent Garden on 17 March 1777, the identity of which eludes us. Finally, for the performance by Drury Lane at the King's Theatre on 1 May 1792 we are informed: 'In the character of Viola Mrs Jordan will for this Night only introduce a new song composed by Suett, with accomp. for Oboe & Grand Piano Forte'.[36] Unfortunately, I have been unable to trace a composition to fit this description. Also, for this performance only, Suett sang 'a favourite *Song* composed by Dibdin' at the end of the play.[37] Since Suett took the part of Feste it seems that on this occasion the Dibdin piece, which I am unable to identify, replaced the Epilogue song.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona

The Two Gentlemen of Verona has always been one of Shakespeare's least-known and least-liked plays. It was staged on a number of occasions during the eighteenth century, but totalled only twelve performances. According to Hogan it was one of only three Shakespeare plays that were not acted at all in the first half of the century.[1] This may not be quite accurate, as the play is believed to have been acted at least once at the York Buildings in October 1735.[2] No details of this production, however, are known.

When *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was finally played at the main London theatres in 1762 it was in a form adapted by Benjamin Victor. Victor's alteration was published in 1763. For the sake of unity of place Victor re-ordered many of the scenes, especially in the first two acts.[3] He made a number of minor cuts, additions and revisions throughout, but also added two scenes for Launce in the final act. Shakespeare's language, however, was mostly kept intact.

Although there is a certain amount of musical punning in the play, Shakespeare requires music at only one point. This is during the fourth act where the famous song 'Who is Silvia' is introduced. At Proteus's suggestion he and Thurio have arranged for musicians to serenade Silvia. (Thurio has apparently composed the words of the song, which praise his beloved.)[4] Proteus really hopes to improve his own suit by this serenading. Thus, although Shakespeare does not specify the singer of the song, it is usually thought to be Proteus himself.[5] As we shall see, this was not the case in eighteenth-century performances of the play.

Most of Shakespeare's play is retained in Victor's adaptation, including the song 'Who is Silvia'. For the opening performance of the new production on 22 December 1762 the advertisements declared: 'In Act IV will be introduc'd a *Serenade*, with singing by Vernon.'[6] Fortunately, there survives a printed 'SONG in the TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA. Sung by *Mr Vernon*.'[7] (It should be noted that Proteus was played by Mr Holland, and that Joseph Vernon actually took the part of Thurio!)[8] Vernon's song is a graceful setting for high tenor, accompanied, it seems, by two violins and continuo. It begins with an eight-bar introduction, which allows the piece to overlap the preceding dialogue, as necessitated by the text. However, although instrumental music is required for a number of lines after the cessation of the song, in this setting the instrumental 'postlude' lasts only four and a half bars. Either the song was played again, but without the voice, or other music was introduced. Although not in the same league as Schubert's famous work, Vernon's piece is lyrical enough.

As well as Vernon's song, the advertisements inform us that the production was accompanied by a 'New *Overture* and New Music between the acts.'[9] Unfortunately, we have no means of identifying either the music or its composer.

Victor's adaptation was performed at Drury Lane seven times between 22 December1762 and 2 February 1763.[10] There then followed twenty-one years before the play was staged again, this time at Covent Garden. Genest states that the single performance at Covent Garden on 13 April 1784 was of Shakespeare's original, 'with slight alterations', rather than Victor's adaptation.[11] This claim is

echoed by Hogan.[12] I am inclined to believe, on the contrary, that it was Victor's adaptation that was performed. Apart from stating that the play was 'With Alterations', *Parker's General Advertiser and Morning Intelligencer* for 13 April 1784 informs us: 'In Act V will be introduced, by Mr. QUICK, A FRIGHTEN'D SONG, Composed by Mr. Shield.' Quick took the part of Launce: Launce does not appear in the final act of Shakespeare's play. However, as noted above, Victor included two extra passages for Launce in the fifth act. The first of these discovers Launce in the forest 'in a fright'. In order to appear courageous he sings. This is surely where William Shield's 'Frighten'd Song' belongs – in Victor's additional scene. Unfortunately, I have been unable to identify any Shield song to fit this situation. Victor in fact provides two lines of a song for Launce:

> And when that he lost both his legs, -
> He fought upon his stumps.

These derive from the Ballad of chevy chase (stanza 50).[12a] It is interesting that this production was reviewed in the *Public Advertiser* on 15 April 1784. Quick's performance of Launce was praised as 'by far better than any of his predecessors', yet no mention was made of Shield's song. No mention was made, either, of the fourth-act serenade.

After this single performance at Covent Garden it was another sixteen years before *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was staged again. It was revived, by J. P. Kemble, at Drury Lane on 15 January 1790.[13] The revival was not a success, being performed just three times (15 and 20 January, and 3 June 1790).[14] James Boaden commented:

> I am sure that I seldom feel inclined to revoke at the suit of Shakespeare; but I never could understand Kemble's reason for evoking the *Two Gentlemen of Verona* from oblivion, in the month of January 1790. If, in the administration of Garrick, with Holland and O'Brien, King and Yates, Miss Bride and Mrs Yates, nothing came of this dramatic *nothing*, what was to be expected from Wroughton and Barrymore, Bannister and Dodd, Mrs Kemble and Mrs Goodall.[15]

Kemble himself was unhappy with the production. Herschel Baker cites him as stating:

> A very ineffectual Play, and I am sorry I ever took the Trouble to revive it. N.B. It was very ill acted into the Bargain. There was a fine Scene of a Wood in Act 5th.[16]

This reference to the final act raises the question of which version of the play Kemble staged. W. C. Oulton, commenting on Kemble's production, states: 'It was altered by Mr. Victor in 1763. - Its present revival met but a cool reception'.[17] This implies it was Victor's adaptation that was revived. Kemble revised the play again in 1808. It is clear from the published 1808 text that Kemble was familiar with Victor's alteration. In this adaptation some of Victor's additional Launce material of the final act is retained. I am thus inclined to question Hogan's bold assertion: 'It is equally certain that the revival at DL in 1790 was also the original'.[18] All we learn of the music associated with this production is that the fourth-act serenade was sung by Dignum, an accomplished tenor, who was not otherwise involved in the play.[19]

The Winter's Tale

The Winter's Tale has a somewhat chequered stage history in the eighteenth century. It was one of a group of Shakespeare's comedies that was first revived, as written by Shakespeare, in the early 1740s. However, a number of adaptations of the play then followed, most of them drastically cut-down versions of two or three acts. In its different forms *The Winter's Tale* was acted in London during all decades from the 1740s until the end of the century, but it was never particularly popular.[1]

A substantial amount of music is called for in Shakespeare's play, almost all of it in the fourth act, and most of it at the sheep-shearing feast. In this scene there are no fewer than three songs and two dances. The first dance is of shepherds and shepherdesses. As Florizel and Perdita join in the dance the disguised Polixenes is given the opportunity to question the old shepherd and discover what his son has been up to. The second dance, 'of twelve Satyrs', is a more formal and professional affair, and seems to be present purely for entertainment.[2] Both dances help convey the happy innocence and joy of the two young lovers, which will stand in sharp contrast to the anger and sense of betrayal about to be expressed by Polixenes.

The songs in this scene likewise add to the festive spirit. They are all led by the rogue/pedlar/thief Autolycus. Two of them, 'Lawn as white as driven snow' (IV iv 220-32) and 'Will you buy any tape' (IV iv 316-24), are straightforward pedlars' songs, listing items and enticing people to buy the wares. It is all a front, though, and Autolycus's real aim is to steal their purses. Among his items for sale are a number of ballads, and for the third song Autolycus sings one of these ballads. Beginning 'Get you hence, for I must go' (IV iv 298-309) it concerns a man abandoning his two lovers. The reference to the song being 'in three parts' (IV iv 294) is not to the music having three, simultaneous independent parts, but to the fact that it is a conversation between three characters. Mopsa and Dorcas, two country girls, join Autolycus in singing this supposedly popular ballad. As Dorcas explains: 'We had the tune on't a month ago' (IV iv 295). Seng suggests that this song, as well as contributing to the celebratory atmosphere, reveals another aspect of Autolycus's personality, that of 'a trifler with feminine hearts'.[3]

Autolycus also sings the three other songs that Shakespeare requires. These all occur in the previous scene, when we first meet this character. Indeed, our introduction to Autolycus is through the song 'When daffodils begin to peer' (IV iii 1-12). This immediately establishes both his optimistic, roguish character, and the season of the year. Autolycus speaks a mere two lines, informing us that he once worked for Prince Florizel, before he launches into his second song 'But shall I go mourn for that, my dear?' (IV iii 15-22). This confirms Autolycus's 'trade' as that of a pedlar, beggar and petty thief. These songs, as well as revealing Autolycus's personality, serve to enlist our sympathy, even affection, for him. More importantly, though, Autolycus's first song is critical in bringing about the contrast in mood between the dark, jealous Winter of the initial acts of the play, and this Spring of joy and new life which characterises the final acts. Autolycus's exit song in this scene, 'Jog on, jog on the foot-path way' (IV iii 119-22), maintains the general atmosphere.

However, this is an even merrier song as the pleased Autolycus has just tricked, and pick-pocketed, a simple clown.

As well as the songs and dances of the fourth act, Shakespeare calls for music elsewhere in the play. In contrast to the revelries of the previous act, solemn music is required in the final scene of the play. Following Paulina's command: 'Music, awake her; strike!' (V iii 98), music accompanies the magical coming to life of Hermione's statue, an essential part of the enchantment. Also, it has been suggested that hunting horns should sound towards the end of the third act, at III iii 63.[4]

During the eighteenth century *The Winter's Tale* was first produced in London at two different theatres, during two consecutive seasons. It was initially staged at Goodman's Fields on 15 January 1741, with seven further performances in the following eleven days, and one last performance on 10 April.[5] A production at Covent Garden followed on 11 November 1741, with four performances on four consecutive days, and one final staging on 21 January 1742.[6] Unfortunately, no acting edition or promptbook survives from either production, which makes it difficult to know precisely what happened musically. Newspaper advertisements, however, make it clear that dancing formed an important part of the fourth-act spectacle in both productions. For Goodman's Fields we are simply informed that the singing and dancing was 'Adapted to the Play'.[7] For the November performances at Covent Garden, however, we learn that the dancers were 'Dubisson and Mlle Bonneval, being the 1st time of their appearing since their arrival from Paris'.[8] For the final performance on 21 January 1742, though, a rather more spectacular dance was introduced. This was a 'New Grand Ballet call'd the *Rural Assembly*'. Seventeen dancers are named for this entertainment.[9] Of course, there is no evidence that any of these dances were composed specifically for *The Winter's Tale*. Indeed, the night after its insertion in *The Winter's Tale*, the *Rural Assembly* was danced during a performance of *As You Like It*.[10]

The vocal music in these productions is a little more complicated. Given how many songs are assigned to Autolycus it is perhaps surprising that no mention is made in the advertisements of any of them. Nor are there extant any contemporary settings which can be linked specifically to these productions. It is possible, of course, that earlier settings were used. We do have seventeenth-century versions of 'Jog on, jog on', 'Lawn as white as driven snow' and 'Get you hence, for I must go'.[11] Although these survive in seventeenth-century sources, there are no eighteenth-century copies and no indication that they were known as late as 1741. However, there are two songs which have been linked to the 1741 Covent Garden production: 'But shall I go mourn for that' and 'Jog on, jog on', both set by J. F. Lampe.[12] Lampe's pieces were published as single-sheet songs, probably in the early 1740s.[13] Since Lampe was composing for Covent Garden at the time it seems reasonable to conclude that these songs were written for the 1741 production. Yet even if they were written for this production I doubt they were actually sung then. Thomas Chapman took the part of Autolycus at Covent Garden. Unlike Richard Yates, his counterpart at Goodman's Fields, who was an accomplished singer, Chapman is not known as a singer.[14] Lampe's settings require a moderate degree of virtuosity, which I suspect was well beyond Chapman. I also believe it is not insignificant

that on both sheet songs the heading is simply 'Set by Mr Lampe from Shakespear', and that neither a singer, nor even the name of the play, is given.

Whereas the advertisements make no mention of Autolycus's songs, they do inform us that other songs were introduced into the production at Goodman's Fields. The initial advertisement, as well as mentioning generally that the singing and dancing was 'Adapted to the Play', notes: 'particularly a Song by the Gentlewoman who performed Polly'.[15] This 'Gentlewoman' was a Miss Medina, an actress and singer who had recently made her London debut in a performance of *The Beggar's Opera*, and who was active on the London stage until 1749.[16] Unfortunately, we do not know which song it was she sang.

For the final performance of *The Winter's Tale* at Goodman's Fields, on 10 April 1741, there was the announcement: 'Also the Sheep-shearing Song, and the Songs in *As You Like It*, by Mrs Dunstall'.[17] Mrs Dunstall, who played Mopsa in this performance, probably introduced Thomas Arne's recent settings of 'Under the greenwood tree' and 'When daisies pied' from *As You Like It*.[18] These are the two songs from that play with appropriate pastoral lyrics. The Sheep-shearing song was no doubt John Barrett's setting of 'When the rose is in bud' from Charles Johnson's play *The Country Lasses; or, The Custom of the Manor*.[19] The play had been performed at Goodman's Fields seven times between 2 December 1734 and 29 March 1736, and had recently played at Covent Garden.[20] The words of this Sheep-shearing ballad are given in full in Appendix B.

After this initial interest in *The Winter's Tale* some twelve years passed before it was staged again, then however, in adapted form. Indeed, the second half of the eighteenth century saw no fewer than five different adaptations of *The Winter's Tale*, with no more productions of the original. The two most popular versions, those by MacNamara Morgan and David Garrick, are two- and three-act afterpieces based only on the final two acts of the play. These were performed a number of times each decade from their premières in 1754 (Morgan) and 1756 (Garrick) until the end of the century, and each was staged both at Covent Garden and Drury Lane.[21] In contrast, a three-act afterpiece by George Colman saw just three performances at the Haymarket theatre in the summers of 1777 and 1783.[22] There were also two rather unsuccessful five-act alterations of *The Winter's Tale*. Thomas Hull's play was acted at Covent Garden just twice, on 24 April 1771 and 4 May 1772, whereas Charles Marsh's adaptation failed to reach the stage at all.[23]

MacNamara Morgan's *The Sheep-Shearing; or, Florizel and Perdita* was the first of these adaptations to be performed, with a London première at Covent Garden on 25 March 1754.[24] Morgan's play is a drastic reduction of the original into just two acts. All the action takes place in Bithynia, and the characters Leontes and Hermione are omitted. Florizel and Perdita have decided to get married at the sheep-shearing feast, which thus also serves as a wedding celebration. When Florizel is discovered by his father he immediately responds more defiantly than in the original. And Perdita's true identity is quickly revealed as it turns out that the old shepherd is none other than Antigonus (the courtier who was killed by a bear in Shakespeare's play). Although a number of Shakespeare's lines are kept intact the play is necessarily re-written.[25] Not surprisingly, however, Morgan's adaptation requires much music. Autolycus (spelt Autolicus in all the adaptations) retains

four of his original six songs: 'When daffodils begin to peer', 'Jog on, jog on', 'Will you buy any tape' and the trio with Mopsa and Dorcas 'Get you hence, for I must go'. He also ends the play with an extra song, 'Then let us all be blithe and gay'. In addition, a shepherdess sings a song 'Our sheep timely shorn' with the chorus 'Let us sing, and let us play', and Pan sings a number beginning 'Shepherds hear the voice of Pan'.[26] Furthermore, there is a 'Dance of Shepherds and Shepherdesses'.

Once again we are confronted with the problem of identifying and locating the music that was used in performances of Morgan's play. The musical requirements as listed above are those found in the editions of the play published by Peter Wilson in Dublin 1767 and 'for the booksellers' in 1771.[27] Two other editions show some differences. One published by J. Truman in 1762 omits both the two-line chorus 'Let us sing and let us play' and the trio 'Get you hence for I must go', and assigns 'Our sheep timely shorn' to Dorcas.[28] The other, dated 1784 and printed in the Supplement to *Bell's British Theatre*, also omits the trio, and replaces the songs of the shepherds and shepherdesses with another sheep-shearing song 'Come, come my good shepherds'. This last song was originally written for Garrick's alteration of the play, and will be discussed later on.

The editions of 1767, 1771 and 1762 all state that the songs were set 'by Mr Arne'.[29] This is where the difficulties begin. There seem to be no extant settings by Thomas Arne of any of the songs in Morgan's play, except for the final number 'Then let us all be blithe and gay'. Yet even here there are problems. Arne's setting of 'Come let us all be blithe and gay' was first published in his collection *The Winter's Amusement* [1761], where we are informed: 'Sung by Miss Brent and Mr Mattocks'. In the printed editions of the play the song is assigned to Autolycus; Miss Brent and Mr Mattocks, however, took the parts of Perdita and Florizel when they acted in Morgan's play at Covent Garden between 22 December 1760 and 3 May 1762.[30] Advertisements for these performances suggest that Miss Brent and Mr Mattocks sang 'new' songs in character. If, then, as seems likely, the setting of 'Come let us all be blithe and gay' in *The Winter's Amusement* is one of these new compositions, there must also have been an earlier setting of the same lyrics, by Arne, which we now lack.[31] This later setting, as it appears in *The Winter's Amusement*, is not a true duet in that there is only one melodic line. The accompanying violins, however, often play in parallel thirds or sixths so a second part could easily be arranged. The tune itself, although containing a few trills, is not very taxing, but rather straightforward and perfectly pleasant.

Since so little of the music required in Morgan's play survives it is tempting to surmise that the songs were not sung in London performances, especially as the title-pages of the earliest printed editions of the play make it clear that they are records of how the play was originally acted in Dublin rather than London.[32] Unfortunately, advertisements for the London performances confirm that there was indeed much music. Autolycus is usually listed 'with songs', and the earlier notices give the names of the singing shepherds and shepherdesses.[33] On a number of occasions Arne is mentioned as the composer of the songs, and for many of the performances we are told the names of the dancers for the various dances that were introduced in the different productions.[34] Despite the evidence in the printed playbooks of 1762 and 1784 it is quite clear that the trio 'Get you hence, for I must go' was

usually sung in performances of the play.[35] As already noted, Mattocks as Florizel and Miss Brent as Perdita introduced 'new songs in character' in the play. Apart from the song 'Come let us all be blithe and gay', which was discussed above, we do not know which songs they introduced. At least, we would know if there were extant any copies of the pamphlets containing the words of the songs which were given out free at the performance of Morgan's play on 22 December 1760.[36] We do know, however, that on 23 March 1762, apparently 'by particular desire', Miss Brent sang 'Nymphs and Shepherds come away' from Arne's oratorio *Alfred*.[37] As well as being a suitably pastoral number, it contains the familiar line 'Come let's all be blithe and gay'. Finally, I believe Michael Arne's sheep-shearing song, 'Come, come my good shepherds', was first introduced from Garrick's play to Morgan's when the latter transferred from Covent Garden to Drury Lane on 15 March 1768.[38] (Garrick's play had started out at Drury Lane.) The song was usually sung by Perdita, though occasionally it was given to Dorcas.[39]

Garrick's alteration of *The Winter's Tale*, *Florizel and Perdita*, is longer than Morgan's play, and closer to the original. It is a three-act 'Dramatic Pastoral' retaining many of Shakespeare's lines.[40] Based also on the final two acts of its model, the play begins with a summary of past events. All the action takes place in Bohemia, to which Leontes is travelling to make atonement with Polixenes. Paulina and Hermione (believed dead) had previously fled to Bohemia, so that unity of time and place can be observed in Garrick's play. Musically, Garrick's requirements are very similar to Shakespeare's. Autolycus retains his six songs, though the first two lack their final stanzas. There is just one dance, of shepherds and shepherdesses, and music is required as Hermione's statue comes to life. Garrick calls for trumpets, twice, to announce the royal party, and there is the addition of a sheep-shearing song, beginning 'Come, come my good shepherds'.

Fortunately, more music survives for Garrick's play than for Morgan's. Music for the statue coming to life was composed by William Boyce. This is preserved in Bodleian MS Mus d 14. It is scored for two oboes, four-part strings and continuo. The piece progresses from long soft chords of minims and semibreves to crotchets, quavers, triplet quavers and finally loud lively semiquavers in a reflection of the gradual awakening of the statue. Harmonically it is fairly static, being solidly rooted in G major. However, as the rhythmic pace quickens so the harmony becomes freer, and modulates briefly to D major before the final emphatic G major close.

As well as Boyce's piece we know that Michael Arne's 'Come, come my good shepherds' was composed for this play. Advertised as 'The new Sheep-shearing Song', presumably in contrast to the 'old' sheep-shearing song from *The Country Lasses* (as mentioned above), it was first published in Arne's collection *The Violet* of 1756.[41] Scored for mezzo-soprano, with accompaniment of two treble instruments and a bass, it is in a pastoral compound duple and F major. It is a simple, syllabic, ballad-like setting, but with a long introduction and brief instrumental interruptions. There are five stanzas, though it seems that only three or four of them were usually sung in later performances.[42]

Of Autolycus's six songs there is just one setting that can be linked with Garrick's play. This is Boyce's 'Get you hence, for I must go', which was first published in the fifth book of *Lyra Britannica* (London: I Walsh [1756]).[43] It is scored for two sopranos and tenor, accompanied by two

violins and continuo bass. Like Michael Arne's sheep-shearing song, this setting is syllabic and uncomplicated. The three characters all sing separately, except for the occasional 'O whither?', 'What neither?' or 'I'll go thither', which Mopsa and Dorcas sing in parallel thirds. Boyce's setting was clearly popular as it was published a number of times during the second half of the eighteenth century. I suspect that when Morgan's adaptation of *The Winter's Tale* transferred from Covent Garden to Drury Lane in 1768, as well as acquiring Michael Arne's sheep-shearing song it also adopted this setting, by Boyce, of 'Get you hence'.[44]

Although often running concurrently with Morgan's adaptation, Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita* was the more frequently performed of the two plays. Initially, it was often paired with *Catharine and Petruchio*, Garrick's alteration of *The Taming of the Shrew*; a joint prologue was written for the two plays.[45] Its final performance in the eighteenth century was on 22 December 1795.[46] Meanwhile, as already noted, there were two other adaptations of *The Winter's Tale*. Thomas Hull's five-act play, which was performed just twice, was published by John Bell in 1773. It is essentially an abridgment of Shakespeare's play, with little new material added.[47] Not surprisingly, musically the requirements are as in the original play, but with two of Autolycus's songs, 'But shall I go mourn' and 'Get you hence', omitted. The last adaptation, another work based on the final part of Shakespeare's play, is *The Sheep Shearing* by George Colman the elder. Performed just three times at the Haymarket Theatre, this three-act piece is, in fact, an adaptation of Garrick rather than Shakespeare.[48] As will be seen below, it is also indebted to Morgan for some of its musical numbers. Colman's play contains the most songs of any of the adaptations. Autolycus is given five of his original songs, with 'But shall I go mourn' omitted. Perdita sings 'Come, come my good shepherds' and the play ends with the chorus 'Come let us all be blythe and gay'. In addition there are two new songs for Florizel: 'Witness O Earth, and Heav'ns, and all!' and 'Once more I swear, not all the worth'. In the first of these Florizel makes a public declaration of his love for Perdita. The second song is a private expression of Florizel's resolution not to abandon his love.[49] Whereas 'Come, come my good shepherds' was presumably Michael Arne's setting, and 'Come let us all be blythe and gay' Thomas Arne's of 1761, Florizel's two additional songs were apparently set to music by Samuel Arnold.[50] Unfortunately, Arnold's settings are no longer extant.

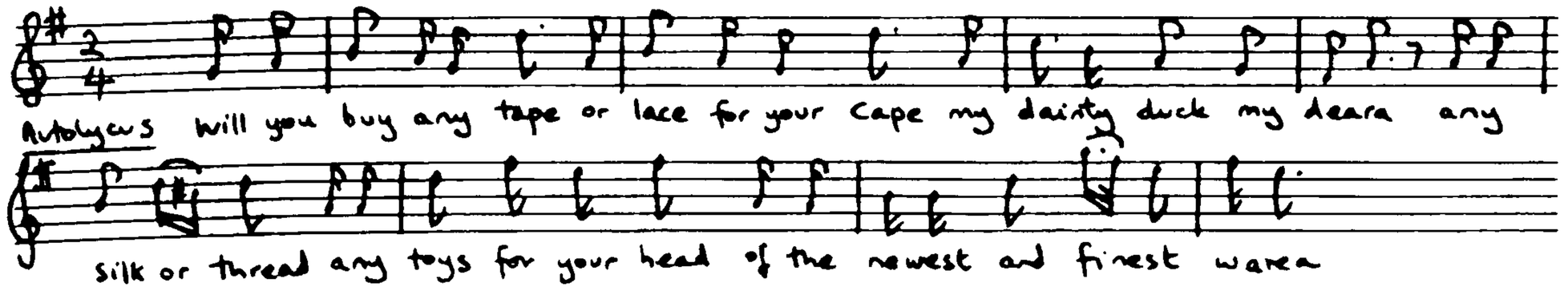
The one problem in common with all the different eighteenth-century versions of *The Winter's Tale* is the identity of Autolycus's songs. As already outlined, he sings in all these adaptations, and between four and six songs. Yet we can only positively identify one eighteenth-century setting, Boyce's 'Get you hence'. This, as explained above, was probably composed for Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita*, and presumably superseded a setting by Thomas Arne written for Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing*, which is no longer extant. However, several other possible eighteenth-century theatrical settings of Autolycus's songs have survived. These are to be found in two early nineteenth-century collections: William Linley's *Shakespeare's Dramatic Music* and John Caulfield's *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays*.[51] It is clear that both editors were publishing what they believed to be at least eighteenth-century settings, since Caulfield labels most of

his tunes 'traditional' whereas Linley posits Boyce as the composer of some of the music simply 'from the style of it'.[52] It is thus worth examining the contents of these collections a little more closely.

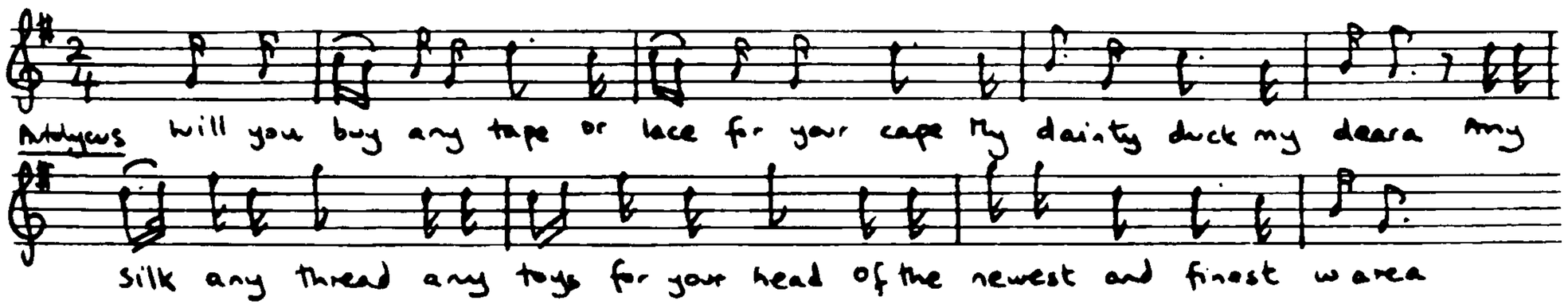
Autolycus's first song is 'When daffodils begin to peer'. The tune given by both Linley and Caulfield is, in fact, also present in an eighteenth-century source. This is the third volume of Joseph Ritson's *A Select Collection of English Songs* (London, 1783) song XLIV.[53] Ritson notes: 'This tune is not known to have been ever printed before, and was not obtained without some difficulty. The two last verses were transposed in the copy, but are here placed in their proper order'. This last comment is very important, and suggests a connection with Morgan's *The Sheep Shearing*, for Morgan has these two stanzas reversed.[54] Colman follows Morgan in this respect, whereas Garrick and Hull keep Shakespeare's order.[55] If Ritson's source originated from early performances of Morgan's play it is plausible that Thomas Arne could be the composer of this piece.[56]

'But shall I go mourn', Autolycus's second song, is only present in Caulfield's collection. The one adaptation which includes this piece is Garrick's, yet later performing editions of Garrick's play indicate that the song was in fact omitted in performance.[57] This makes me question the authenticity of Caulfield's piece as a genuine theatrical song. 'Jog on, jog on', however, was apparently sung in all the different alterations of the play, and the same melody is given by both Linley and Caulfield. Oddly, however, in Linley's collection it forms part of 'When daffodils begin to peer'. It is inserted inbetween the end of the third stanza and a repeat of the last three lines of that stanza. In E minor, and marked 'A little slower', it forms a nice contrast to the brisk G major of its surrounding sections.[58] I do not know if there is any theatrical authority for this arrangement; none is indicated in any of the texts of the various adaptations of the play.

'Lawn as white as driven snow', the next of Autolycus's songs, was sung in all but Morgan's adaptation. A setting of this was printed by Caulfield, but not by Linley, who supplies a composition of his own. Linley comments that no setting of this song was preserved with the other songs. This suggests that his source may have related directly to the Morgan adaptation. The song preserved by Caulfield lacks the two lines 'Pins and poking sticks of steel / What maids lack from head to heel', two lines apparently normally sung.[59] However, there seems no reason to doubt that this setting was sung in the eighteenth century. Both Linley and Caulfield present Boyce's composition 'Get you hence'. Finally, they both have settings of 'Will you buy any tape'. In this case the pieces, whilst clearly related, and beginning in the same manner, develop in quite different ways. A comparison of the first eight bars of the vocal part illustrates this:



Ex. 1a: 'Will you buy any tape' in William Linley, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* 2 vols (London [1816]) II 29.



Ex. 1b: 'Will you buy any tape' in John Caulfield, *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays* 2 vols (London, *c*1864) II 58-59 (originally in F major).

This suggests that Autolycus's songs, with the exception of Boyce's trio, were probably sung unaccompanied. It also confirms that Caulfield's source originates from a different theatrical tradition to that of Linley's source.

Section Two

The Histories

Henry IV Part I

Henry IV Part I was the second most popular of Shakespeare's histories, ranking seventh amongst all Shakespeare's plays for the century, though fourth for the first half of the century.[1] It was Thomas Betterton's adaptation entitled 'K. HENRY IV. WITH THE HUMOURS OF Sir John Falstaff'[2] that was playing at the opening of the century. This had its première at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 9 January 1700.[3] However, Betterton's 'adaptation' is scarcely an alteration of Shakespeare's play. It is simply Shakespeare's play with a few omissions.

As well as various military calls, Shakespeare's play requires a Welsh song during the first scene of the third act.[4] Betterton removed this scene, which continued to be omitted from all performances of the play until the end of the century. The 'acting' edition of the play, published by John Bell in 1773, for example, notes: 'Shakespeare wrote, to begin his third act, a strange unmeaning, wild scene, of seven pages, between Hotspur, Glendower, etc. which is properly rejected'.[5]

At the beginning of the eighteenth century two sets of act tunes for *Henry IV Part I* were published by Walsh and Hare as part of the collection *Harmonia Anglicana*. The first set, by James Paisible and published in 1701,[6] bears the title 'Mr. Peasable's Ayre's in the Comedy call'd the Humors of S^{r} Iohn Falstaf'. The other, published in 1703,[7] is by William Corbett and is entitled 'Mr Corbet's Musick in the Comedy call'd Hen^{r} the 4th Play'd all the time of the Publick Act in Oxford'. A complete set of partbooks for these act tunes survives at the Royal College of Music.[8] Both sets of act tunes are similar in that they comprise an overture followed by six (Paisible) or eight (Corbett) other standard, mostly simple binary-form, instrumental movements - all in four parts. The Paisible setting is in C major, with the final two movements in G major. The Corbett setting starts in A major and moves to A minor for its last two movements. But beyond superficial structural similarities the two settings are quite different.

Confusion surrounds the association of these act tunes with specific performances. The *New Grove* articles on Paisible and Corbett both suggest that the act tunes were written for performances of *Henry IV Part I* in 1699, the Paisible setting for Drury Lane and Corbett's for Lincoln's Inn Fields.[9] However, no performances of *Henry IV Part I* have been recorded in the final years of the seventeenth century prior to Betterton's adaptation of 1700. Curtis Price, in his catalogue of music for Restoration plays, has a question mark over the Corbett setting, not assigning it to any theatre.[10] However, he suggests that the Paisible music was composed for the Betterton adaptation at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1700.[11] Neighbarger confuses *Henry IV Part I* with *Henry IV Part II*. He states that Paisible's music was composed for performances of Betterton's *Henry IV Part II* at Lincoln's Inn Fields *c*1700, and Corbett's music (though he does not name the composer) for Betterton's *Henry IV Part I* at Lincoln's Inn Fields (presumably for 1700).[12] Betterton's adaptation of *Henry IV Part II*, however, was not performed until 1720. Gooch and Thatcher state that the Corbett setting was composed for a performance in Oxford, and that the Paisible setting was composed for Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1700.[13]

All this confusion arises because of the lack of information from the first few years of the eighteenth century. Since daily newspapers were still only beginning to establish themselves, there are many gaps in our knowledge of the theatrical calendar at this time. Confusion also arises because of the use of alternative, and incomplete, titles for these plays.

The earliest publication of Betterton's adaptation of *Henry IV Part I*, printed in 1700, states: 'As it is Acted at the Theatre in Little-Lincolns-Inn-Fields'. We know that it was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in January 1700 and also on 9 November 1704.[14] We also know that it was performed at Drury Lane on 25 November 1704.[15] The advertisement for this last performance states: 'Not Acted these five Years'.[16] Since there had been a performance earlier that same month at Lincoln's Inn Fields, the implication is that the play had previously been staged at Drury Lane, presumably during the 1699-1700 season, and some time after its première at Lincoln's Inn Fields (on 9 January 1700). It is also probable that there were more performances at both theatres between 1700 and 1704.

William Corbett was both a player in the band at Lincoln's Inn Fields and a composer of incidental music for the theatre.[17] James Paisible, on the other hand, was also a player in the band at Drury Lane where he too composed incidental music.[18] Neither man is known to have written incidental music for the theatre at which the other composer was employed. This casts grave doubts on the association of Paisible's act tunes with Lincoln's Inn Fields, as stated by Price and Gooch and Thatcher. I suggest that his music was composed for Drury Lane in 1700.

From the comment 'play'd all the time of the Publick Act in Oxford' it would seem that Corbett's music was used in an early eighteenth-century performance of *Henry IV Part I* at Oxford. The 'Publick Act' referred to is the annual matriculation ceremony, which was then an occasion for much music and entertainment.[19] Yet this does not preclude the possibility that the music was originally written for Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1700. However, there is another alternative. In *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute* II (London, 1700) the first tune on both pages 2 and 3 is labelled 'by Mr. Eccles in Henry y^{e} fourth'. There are two tunes on each page, and in fact all four are to be found in US NH: Filmer MS 9 (p74), where they form the last four consecutive numbers of Solomon Eccles's act tunes for *The Female Warrior*.[20] Charles Hopkins's play, *Friendship Improv'd, or the Female Warrior*, received its première at Lincoln's Inn Fields during the same season as Betterton's *Henry IV Part I* (1699-1700). It appears that Solomon Eccles's act music may have served for both plays, perhaps until Corbett wrote his music.

Gooch and Thatcher list one more piece in connection with eighteenth-century performances of *Henry IV Part I*. This is the song 'The Play of Love', sung by Leveridge to music by Pepusch.[21] Although this song was first advertised as being sung between the acts of *Henry IV Part I* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 18 March 1725[22] there is no connection between the lyrics of this song and the play itself.[23] Nor is there any connection between the play and the song 'The Sequel to The Play of Love', also listed by Gooch and Thatcher.[24]

Henry IV Part II

This was a rather less popular play than Part I, ranking some ten places below it in the eighteenth-century Shakespeare popularity league.[1] The play was performed both in its original form, from 1738, and also in an adaptation by Thomas Betterton in the earlier years from 1720.[2] In both versions there are the usual military signals and an instruction for 'soft Musick'. In addition the character Silence is called upon to sing. His drunken snatches of song are actually quite substantial, so it is a little surprising that no setting has come down to us. Of course, the songs were no doubt sung unaccompanied, a supposition borne out by the musical cues in a promptbook relating to the Garrick production of the play in 1758.[3] In his early nineteenth-century collection *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* William Linley comments: 'Silence, it is natural to conclude, sung [*sic*] some regular tune or tunes to his merry words, and the Author much regrets that he has not been able to collect from any good authority, any of the old melodies that were made use of either originally, or when at different times, SHAKSPEARE'S plays were revived. Some of them would unquestionably (as in the case of the Clown's epilogue song in Twelfth Night) have been entitled to a place in the present work'.[4] William Caulfield, in his collection *The Vocal Music to Shakespeare's Plays* (London, *c*1864), presents a melody for the songs which he labels 'Traditional'. There is no reason to believe that this tune was ever used in performance in the eighteenth century.

Henry V

Shakespeare's *Henry V* was a relatively popular play in the eighteenth century, performed most years after 1738 and, with less success, in adaptation prior to that date. Its musical requirements are scant, namely just trumpet flourishes. However, in his 1765 complete edition of Shakespeare's works Samuel Johnson suggests that the lines beginning 'Knocks go and come' (III ii 8-11, 15-17) are possibly fragments of songs. He restored these lines from the 1623 Folio after Pope (in 1723), and subsequent editors, had replaced them with the corrupt lines from the 1600 and 1609 Quartos. The lines 18-20, also in the 1623 Folio, and presumably a continuation of 15-17, were restored in 1768 in Capell's edition. The 'acting' editions of Henry V, however, all contain the corrupt version of these lines, and there is no evidence that these lines were ever sung in the eighteenth century.

Advertisements point to at least one production where additional music was introduced during the play. For the performances at Covent Garden on 19 and 20 April 1744 we are informed: 'In the play will be properly introduc'd the Songs *To Arms* and *Britons Strike Home*, by Leveridge, Beard, Reinhold, etc'.[1] These two patriotic, and thus rather apt, songs from Henry Purcell's *Bonduca* were very popular in the eighteenth century, being frequently published together on a single sheet. Leveridge, Beard and Reinhold, though actors, as well as singers, were not cast among the main characters.

Only one other advertisement makes any reference to music in the play. Concerning the Drury Lane performance of 31 October 1791 we learn: 'The performance of last night boasted some additional impression, by the fine imagination of [Kemble's] starting at the trumpet from the prayer of penitence, and springing up the Hero and the King'.[2]

There is one piece of eighteenth-century music, purporting to belong to *Henry V*, which has survived to the present day. It is a duet in praise of 'love and good wine', beginning 'Fill, fill, fill all the glasses', and set by John Eccles. It seems to have been composed during a fifty-year gap in which there are no records of any performances of *Henry V*, yet the title of the song states: 'A Two-part Song in the play call'd Harry the fifth'. The earliest source is BL: Add. MS. 29,378 (f188-189') in which, in the index, it is dated *c*1702 (by a non-contemporary hand). It first appeared in print in: *A collection of the choicest songs and dialogues compos'd by the most eminent masters of the Age* (London, *c*1705), in a form very close to the manuscript version. Later editions of the song, set as two unaccompanied voices (that is, without the basso continuo) misattribute the work to Henry Purcell and omit the title of the play, suggesting it was not later used in the theatre.

If this song does belong to a production of *Henry V* in the early years of the eighteenth century a small problem arises. To which *Henry V* does the song belong? Was Shakespeare's original performed before 1738? It seems highly improbable that the song was used in the Shakespeare original as it is entirely inappropriate to that play. What seems more likely is that the *Henry V* performed in the early years of the Restoration, Roger Boyle's totally independent play on the same historical subject, received a revival at this time. Love plays a prominent part in Boyle's play and the fourth act ends with the King and Tudor agreeing to act as advocates for each other's

love (to the same woman!). It would merely require the insertion of a single extra line for a bottle of wine to be introduced and the song easily accommodated. (The play, otherwise, has no musical specifications - not even trumpet flourishes.)

Using the term loosely, three 'adaptations' of *Henry V* were performed in the eighteenth century. Charles Molloy's *The Half-Pay Officers*, premièred at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 11 January 1720,[3] is a three-act farce based primarily on Davenant's *Love and Honour*, in which the character Fluellin, together with several incidents, are borrowed from Shakespeare's *Henry V*. Since no music is involved here, though, the farce is of no further concern to us. The second adaptation is an anonymous one-act entertainment called *The Conspiracy Discovered*, which was performed at Drury Lane on 4, 6, 8 and 11 August 1746.[4] The entertainment was not published, and we have no information about music relating to this work. The third adaptation, Aaron Hill's *King Henry the fifth: or, the Conquest of France by the English*, however, is of relevance to this study.

Aaron Hill's play, premièred at Drury Lane on 5 December 1723,[5] is basically a 'tightening-up' of Shakespeare's original, using much of Shakespeare's language. Hill called his work a 'tragedy' and he purged it of all comic and trivial characters or loosely-related scenes. Instead, he developed the two themes of love and treason, both rather awkwardly present in the Shakespeare, and further emphasised the 'justness' of the English in their battle to regain French lands.

By reordering and cutting scenes, Hill managed to achieve rather a neat climax in the fifth act, in which the cleverness and courage of the English are shown in a more blatant, patriotic light than in the original. The fourth and fifth scenes of the final Act portray the French before and after the main part of the battle of Agincourt. In the fourth scene the French are eager to go out and crush the enemy, confident and extremely insulting to the English. In the following scene they return chastened and humiliated. In between, rather than simply stage a battle, Hill chose to mark the passage of time by a song describing the battle.

After the direction 'Sound of a Charge, with drums, trumpets etc.' and presumably to the background of muted groans and sword-clashing, 'The Genius of England rises and sings'. The song, 'Earth of Albion open wide', is no trivial piece, but a vital part of the drama. It describes the emotions of the battle in a succinct and more powerful manner than if the fight had merely been staged.

The full text of the song is given in Appendix B. The opening stanza is optimistic, describing the start of the conflict. The first two lines of the second stanza depict the tired, drained fighters. But the relapse is only temporary, and the song gradually picks up a brighter tone, leading to the victorious final stanza. The song is an ingenious touch at the climax of the play, and essential to the drama in a rare manner. It is much to be regretted that the music no longer survives. It is quite possible, nevertheless, that it was not set to music. Since we are dealing with a fairly substantial and dramatically essential piece, one might expect some mention of the composer or singer in an advertisement or other contemporary account. There is no such reference. However, the words themselves are more important here than a musical effect: a fine recitation of the song by a skilled actor would be far more powerful than a less than first-rate musical setting.

Henry VI Part I

This play saw just one performance in the eighteenth century, at Covent Garden on 13 March 1738.[1] The musical requirements of the play are military calls and marches. No surviving music appears to relate to this performance.

Henry VI Part II

Adapted by Ambrose Philips as *Humfrey, Duke of Gloster*, this work was performed nine times at Drury Lane in 1723.[1] The adaptation has no musical requirements, and no music seems to have been composed specifically for this play.

Henry VI Part III

This play was adapted by Theophilus Cibber. It was published with the title *King Henry VI, A Tragedy* but advertised for performance as *An Historical Tragedy of the Civil Wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster in the reign of King Henry the VIth.*[1] It was performed only once, at Drury Lane, on 5 July 1723.[2] The text calls for various military signals, but no music specifically related to this play survives.

Henry VIII

Henry VIII was performed a reasonable number of times in the eighteenth century, and, apart from some cuts, was not subject to major alteration or adaptation during that time. Of all the History plays this one contains the most varied and extensive musical requirements. Information about the music used in eighteenth-century productions of *Henry VIII* comes from newspaper advertisements, printed acting editions of the play and promptbooks. The two principal acting editions of the play are one published by S. Powell (Dublin, 1734) and one by C. Hitch and others (London, 1762). The Bell edition of 1773 is closely related to the 1762 Hitch edition, but contains further cuts. All other acting editions are the same as one of these three editions.[1] The one promptbook that is of particular value is held at the Folger Shakespeare Library, and relates to performances at the Haymarket in 1779.[2] Between all these sources there are a number of interesting references to music. Unfortunately, little of the music survives.

Shakespeare's play requires two dances. The first of these occurs during the fourth scene of the first act. Cardinal Wolsey holds a banquet at which the King arrives disguised as a masquer in shepherd's attire. The dance is of major dramatic importance as it is the point at which the King first meets, and falls in love with, Anne Bullen. Naturally, all the acting editions include this dance, which is also clearly indicated in the Folger promptbook. However, no dance specific to *Henry VIII* seems to have survived.

The other dance occurs as part of the deposed Queen's Vision, when she falls asleep in the second scene of the fourth act. This Vision is omitted from all the acting editions of the play and also from the Folger promptbook. The 1773 Bell edition notes at this point: 'Shakespeare's regard for Visions and Spirits, has made him introduce an odd unessential dance here, with great minuteness of direction, but it is not worth notice.'[3] The Vision may be 'unessential' in terms of forwarding the drama but it has an important function in focussing on the Queen's loss and in giving the audience a chance to register, and feel for, an otherwise little-developed character. Its omission is a pity.

Nevertheless, the play contains other spectacles which were not omitted. One such spectacle is the Coronation Scene which opens the fourth act in all the acting editions. This became particularly important after the coronation of George II in October 1727. Close on the heels of this major public event *Henry VIII* was staged with a coronation scene 'performed with greater Order and Magnificence, by the Richest and Largest Figures that have ever been seen on the English Stage'.[4] A month later, a 'Ceremony of the Champion in Westminster Hall' was added to the pageantry. Similarly, in 1761 both David Garrick and Christopher Rich tried to capitalise on the coronation of George III. Their coronation scenes are described by Thomas Davies - Garrick's not too favourably:

> The coronation of their Majesties, in September 1761, was followed by a stage representation of it at both the play-houses ...
> Mr. Garrick knew very well that Rich would spare no expence in the presentation of his shew: he knew too that he had a taste in the ordering, dressing, and setting out these pompous processions, superior to his own, he therefore was contented with giving the Coronation with the old dresses which had been often occasionally

> used from 1721to1761. This shew he repeated for near forty nights successively, sometimes at the end of a play, and at other times after a farce. The exhibition was the meanest, and the most unworthy of a theatre, I ever saw. The stage indeed was opened into Drury-lane; and a new and unexpected sight surprised the audience, of a real bonefire, and the populace huzzaing, and drinking porter to the health of queen Anne Bullen. The stage in the mean time, amidst the parading of dukes, dutchesses, archbishops, peeresses, heralds, &c. was covered with a thick fog from the smoke of the fire, which served to hide the tawdry dresses of the processionalists. During this idle piece of mockery, the actors being exposed to the suffocations of smoke, and the raw air from the open street, were seized with colds, rheumatisms, and swelled faces. At length the indignation of the audience delivered the comedians from this wretched badge of nightly slavery, which gained nothing to the managers but disgrace and empty benches. Tired with the repeated insult of a shew which had nothing to support it but gilt copper and old rags, they fairly drove the exhibitors of it from the stage by hooting and hissing, to the great joy of the whole theatre. ... Rich ... fully satisfied [the people's] warmest imaginations.[5] Such a profusion of fine cloaths, of velvet, silk, sattins, lace, feathers, jewels, pearls, &c. had not been seen upon any stage. The scenery, music, and other ornaments, were all correspondent to the grandeur of the ceremony, which was shewn to crowded houses for near two months together.

In 1727 the coronation scene had also become an afterpiece in its own right, though a much more successful one than Garrick's later attempt. Indeed, Colley Cibber is said to have commented that the theatre managers had 'invented, and adorn'd a Spectacle, that for Forty Days together has brought more Money to the House than the best Play that ever was writ'.[6] The success of the 1727 coronation scene also led to a burlesque at Lincoln's Inn Fields, entitled *Harlequin Anna Bullen*.[7]

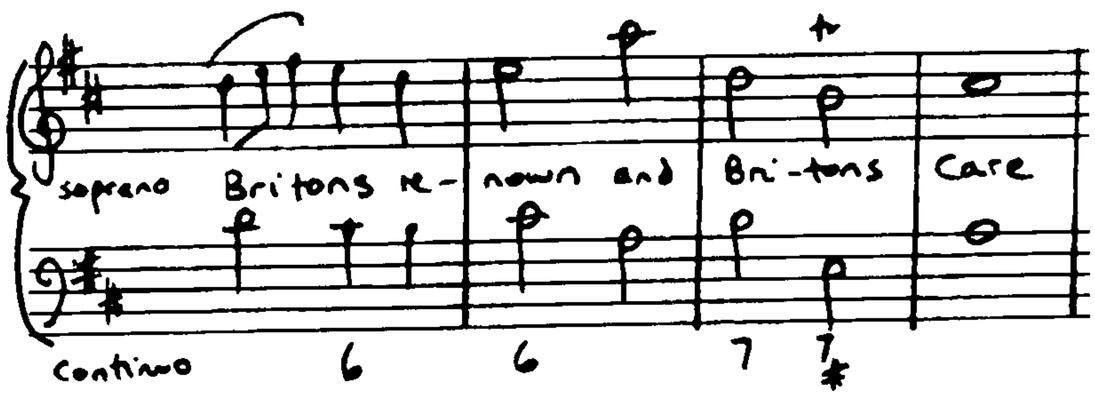
It is difficult to know exactly who was involved, musically, in the coronation scene. Shakespeare's list of personnel for the coronation procession includes 'Choristers singing. Music.' In the 1734 acting edition the list has been altered and now includes: 'Four Gentlemen of the Chappel, two and two; Four of the King's Trumpets, two and two; A Pair of Kettle-drums; and Four more Trumpets.' Of the 54 listed 'items' in the 1762 edition the following refer to musicians: '4. One playing on the Fife; 5. Four Drums, two and two; 6. The Drum-Major; 7. Four Trumpets, two and two; 8. Kettle Drums; 9. Four Trumpets, two and two; 10. Serjeant Trumpet; 19. Four Boys of the Choir; 21. Four Choristers, two and two; 22. Five Boys of the Choir of the King's Chapel.' For the Bell edition of 1773, however, no listing is given at all, even though the coronation procession clearly still took place. A footnote to the opening of the fourth act (referring to the omission of the dialogue at the start of the act) states: 'The Fourth ACT, begins much better here, after the coronation, than with that heavy, uninteresting scene, between two gentlemen, written by our author.'[8] However, since it is the spectacle of the procession, rather than its precise make-up, that is of dramatic importance, it was clearly felt unnecessary to list the personnel. Besides, differences between the acting editions of 1734 and 1762, and comments in newspaper advertisements, suggest that the membership of the coronation procession was not fixed.

Quite what music was used in these processions is unclear. Presumably the musicians were not all present purely for decorative purposes and did actually perform. The 1762 listing mentions the 'King's Chapel', so it seems likely that some of these musicians were normally employed at the Chapel Royal rather than at the theatres. Just as the military signals required elsewhere in the play must have been stock calls, so too might any processional music have been part of the then current repertory of the Chapel Royal. Unfortunately, there are no references to indicate specifically what was sung or otherwise performed.

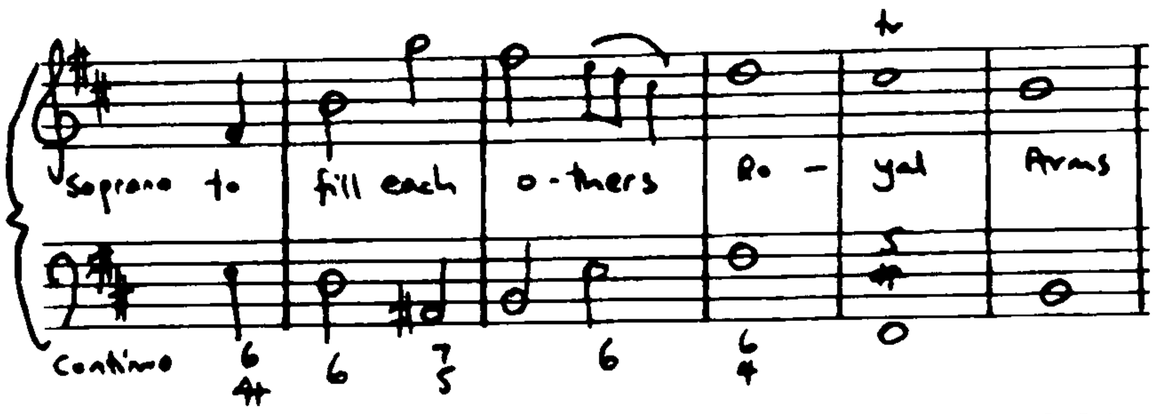
Advertisements in the 1740s, however, reveal that for performances of *Henry VIII* at Covent Garden between late December 1744 and April 1751 the theatre's own singers were used during the coronation procession. An advertisement for 29 December 1744 states: 'Vocal parts for Coronation scene procession: Leveridge, Beard, Reinhold, Roberts, Thompson, Mrs Clive, Mrs Lampe.'[9] The music used on this occasion survives in a unique printed score at the Royal College of Music in London (XXVIII D.29(1)). Entitled 'THE GRAND CHORUS as Perform'd *in the* Representation OF THE CORONATION at the Theatre-Royal IN COVENT GARDEN' (London, n.d.), it was composed by J. F. Lampe, and published posthumously by his widow. The music's connection with *Henry VIII* is confirmed by the existence of three corresponding manuscript partbooks (violins 1, 2 and bass) of the 'Coronation Anthem in Henry 8' held at the British Library.[10] The words of the anthem are:

> Hail to the lovely blooming Pair,
> Britons renown and Britons care.
> Long may they live with blooming charms,
> To fill each others Royal Arms.
> Beauty to bless the Brave was giv'n,
> The richest Prize of fav'ring Heav'n.

The four-part chorus (S.A.T.B.) is fairly simple, and homophonic throughout. The phrase lengths would be quite regular, except that in three instances Lampe extends the cadence in a curious way, by doubling the expected lengths of the two chords preceding each cadential resolution. Compare, for example, bars 5-8 (regular cadence) with 16-21 (extended cadence) in the soprano and continuo parts:



Ex. 1a: J. F. Lampe 'Coronation Anthem in *Henry VIII*' bars 5-8.



Ex. 1b: J. F. Lampe 'Coronation Anthem in *Henry VIII*' bars 16-21.

Accompanying, and doubling, the chorus are two oboes, with four-part strings and continuo.

The last major point of spectacle in the play is the Christening ceremony at the very end. Music for the Christening is mentioned just once. For a performance of *Henry VIII* at Covent Garden on 30 October 1780 advertisements state: 'To conclude with the Ceremonial of a Royal Christening. The Music and a Chorus composed by Shield.'[11] Unfortunately, this music does not survive.

Henry VIII is the only Shakespeare history play to contain a song for which the lyrics are provided. At the start of the third act the troubled Queen orders one of her attendants to sing to her:

> Take thy lute, wench. My soul grows sad with troubles;
> Sing and dispearse 'em, if thou canst. Leave working.

The song, 'Orpheus with his lute', explores the power of music to control emotions, and through this we learn of the depth of the Queen's despair. The cause of her anguish is not made plain in this song, although one could equate Orpheus with the King. Orpheus's power over music can be compared with the King's emotional power over the Queen.

There is only one eighteenth-century setting of 'Orpheus with his lute' which is known to have been sung in the theatre. In the second volume of William Linley's collection *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* we read:

> The beautiful words "Orpheus with his lute" were set many years ago by the Editor's late much lamented father, [Thomas Linley senior] but he grieves to add that the score and parts of the song were destroyed when Drury Lane Theatre was burnt down, and he has not the slightest vestige of it remaining, and but a very imperfect recollection even of the subject. It was composed for the late Mrs Crouch, who sung it when Henry the Eighth was revived to give the public an opportunity of witnessing a Queen Katherine in the performance of Mrs Siddons, which, for dignity and pathos, never was equalled, and never can be excelled.[12]

Newspaper advertisements confirm that Mrs Crouch sang a song in performances of *Henry VIII* at Drury Lane in November and December 1788.[13]

There was possibly another setting of 'Orpheus with his lute'. An advertisement for a performance of *Henry VIII* at Covent Garden on 15 May 1799 informs us: 'Patience (with a *song*, composed by Attwood) - Mrs Atkins'.[14] This may have been a setting of 'Orpheus with his lute', but it is also possible that Attwood set other words to be sung by Patience. The song seems no longer to be extant.

Apart from these references to songs by Linley and Attwood there are advertisements indicating other songs in performances of *Henry VIII*. References to 'Patience (with a proper song)' began in 1752 and occurred frequently until the end of the century. There are several points worth noting about these advertisements. Apart from the cases mentioned above, the advertisements do not name a composer. Nor do any of them specifically name the song sung. Some of the advertisements list Patience as the character who sang; others simply give the name of the singer, such as: 'a *Song*, by Miss Thomas, proper to the play'.[15] Whether or not they are labelled Patience, these singers must have played more or less the same role. Patience is a minor character, being the Queen's chief

female attendant. She is present in Act IV scene ii when the distressed Queen has her Vision. She is also presumably present, though not named, at the opening of the third act, when 'Orpheus with his lute' is sung. With just one exception, when these singers are not labelled 'Patience' the character Patience is not included in the cast list. The one exception occurred on 14 May 1793 when 'Master Welsh' sang a song.[16] In this case Patience is given in the cast list as Mrs Jones.

Another point worth noting is that sometimes the song is advertised as occurring in the third act, and sometimes in the fourth. As indicated above, these are the two main scenes involving the Queen. Both call for music. In the fourth act the Queen says:

> Cause the musicians to play me that sad note
> I nam'd my knell, whilst I sit meditating
> On that celestial harmony I go to.

Then follows the instruction: 'Sad and solemn music'.[17] It seems that Covent Garden included the song in the third act, where we would expect it, but Drury Lane included it in the fourth.[18] (Thus, Mrs Crouch sang Linley's 'Orpheus with his lute' in the fourth, not third, act of *Henry VIII*.) Promptbook evidence also indicates that performances at the Haymarket preferred the fourth act.[19]

The question still remains as to which songs were sung in these performances of *Henry VIII*. In the absence of other known settings, though ackowledging that there is no evidence to support this hypothesis, Neighbarger suggests that Chilcot's setting of 'Orpheus with his lute' may have been used in the theatre during the 1750s.[20] An examination of the acting editions of the play, however, reveals a different situation. The 1734 acting edition of *Henry VIII* indicates that the opening lines of the third act, with the song 'Orpheus with his lute', were omitted in performance. This would account for the lack of earlier eighteenth-century theatrical settings of the song. The acting editions of *Henry VIII* from 1762 until the end of the century, however, show that 'Orpheus with his lute' was replaced by Thomas Arne's 'Love's the tyrant of the heart', from his masque *Alfred*.

Alfred, with a libretto by James Thomson and David Mallet, underwent a number of major textual revisions after its initial publication and performance in 1740. 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' was first included in a libretto of 1753, but is found in none of the wordbooks after the 1750s. In the two printed editons of the music from *Alfred*, one published by Walsh [1756] and the other by Harrison and Co. [1785] 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' is indicated as being sung by 'Miss Young'. The song is also found in *Clio and Euterpe or British Harmony*, a three-volume collection of songs published by Henry Roberts (London, 1762). The song appears on pages 158-59 in the first volume, with the heading: 'A Favourite Air in Alfred Sung by Miss Isabella Young'.

Isabella Young took the part of Patience 'with a proper song' in performances of *Henry VIII* at Drury Lane from 18 December 1755 to 30 September 1761.[21] It is safe to conclude that, in her role as Patience, she sang the song 'Love's the tyrant of the heart'.

Miss Young, however, was not the first singer to be recorded as Patience. The earliest performance for which we learn of 'Patience (with a proper song)' was the new Drury Lane production starting on 10 April 1752.[22] The singer on this occasion was Miss Norris. The question arises, of course, as to which song she sang. For, as already noted, 'Love's the tyrant of the heart'

was not included in *Alfred* until 1753. However, this particular song had previously appeared in two other, rather less successful, works set by Thomas Arne. These were *Henry and Emma* and *Don Saverio*. *Henry and Emma* was performed just twice, at Covent Garden on 31 March 1749[23] and at Marylebone Gardens on 16 August 1750.[24] We have no cast list for the 1750 performance, but for the 1749 production 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' was sung by 'Miss Young'. It was, in fact, the only song assigned to her. It is worth noting that Miss Norris also took part in this performance. *Don Saverio* was performed at Drury Lane on 15, 16 and 17 February 1750.[25] 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' is the only song common to both musical entertainments: on this occasion the song was sung by Miss Norris. It is perfectly conceivable that, despite the general association of 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' with Miss Young, it was in fact Miss Norris who first introduced Arne's song into performances of *Henry VIII*.

In between Miss Norris and Miss Young there was another singer who sang a song in *Henry VIII*. Performances of *Henry VIII* at Drury Lane from 6 October 1753 state: 'In act IV, a *Song*, by Miss Thomas, proper to the play'.[26] Since we lack any other evidence, it is reasonable to assume that she too sang 'Love's the tyrant of the heart'.

It seems that Arne's song was not confined to performances at Drury Lane. The Bell 1773 edition of *Henry VIII* states: 'As performed at the Theatre-Royal, Covent-Garden. Regulated from the Prompt-Book' and includes 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' at the start of the third act. The promptbook relating to performances of *Henry VIII* at the Haymarket in 1779 indicates that Arne's song was also sung there.[27] The singer at the Haymarket, Miss Twist (wrongly given by Langhans as Sarah Lennox Painter[28]), had previously sung as Patience in performances of *Henry VIII* at Covent Garden in 1773.[29]

As we can see, 'Love's the tyrant of the heart' clearly became established in performances of *Henry VIII*, especially since, as already noted, it was printed in all acting editions of the play from 1762 until the end of the century. In the Bell 1773 edition we read:

> Appeals to music, for softening the weight of oppressive care, is natural, and in this place, the introduction is happily conceived, but we think the original song, descriptive of the power of music, much beyond this ballad, and therefore give it to our readers.[30]

Until what date the song persisted in the theatres, however, is unclear. As already mentioned, Thomas Linley Senior set 'Orpheus with his lute' for Mrs Crouch in 1788. We simply do not know whether Mrs Bland (née Romanzini), who took over from Mrs Crouch in late December 1788, also sang Linley's setting. She may well have reverted back to the Arne song.[31]

There is one last song which is mentioned in the advertisements in connection with *Henry VIII*. For the performance at Covent Garden on 8 April 1785 we read: 'In act II of mainpiece *Tally ho*! by Mrs Martyr'.[32] This is a hunting song by Charles Thomas Carter that was frequently sung at the theatres between 1778 and 1788. Its lyrics are of no relevance to the play.

King John

King John received a reasonable number of performances in the eighteenth century from 1736 onwards. In addition, an adaptation by Colley Cibber, entitled *Papal Tyranny in the reign of King John*, was also performed at Covent Garden in 1745 and 1746. (Shakespeare's *King John* was performed at Drury Lane at this time.) Both plays require military calls, and *Papal Tyranny* also calls for 'solemn Musick' for a procession.[1] None of this music appears to have survived. Furthermore, for a performance of *King John* at Covent Garden on 9 April 1741 the newspapers record: 'With a New Epilogue, in the Person of Shakespear (ushered in by Solemn Musick) on Occasion of the Monument erected by the Publick to his Memory'.[2] Nothing survives to identify this solemn music.

Nevertheless, *King John* was subject to a unique musical addition in the middle of the century. In March 1750 a newspaper advertisement gives notice of an imminent revival of *King John* at the Theatre Royal in Smock-Alley, Dublin. It states: 'The Historical Tragedy of King John is now reviving at the Theatre-Royal, and will speedily be performed, the Part of King John by Mr. Mossop, and the part of the Bastard by Mr. Sheridan. Between the Acts there will be performed some new Choruses, in the Manner of the Antients, set to Musick by Mr. Lampe.'[3] No music for these choruses survives, but the words were printed separately. The Folger Shakespeare Library has a unique copy of an edition of the play, published by J. Exshaw and S. Price in Dublin, in 1750, which bears the title: 'THE LIFE *and* DEATH of KING JOHN. A TRAGEDY. As it is now acting At the Theatre-Royal in *Smock-Alley*. *By Mr*. WILLIAM SHAKESPEAR. To which is added A new set of CHORUSES, in the Manner of the Ancients, as they are to be sung at the End of each Act.'[4] At the end of this is indeed added the words of the choruses, with the heading: 'CHORUS FOR *Shakespear's* TRAGEDY of KING JOHN; As performed at the THEATRE-ROYAL'.

The London Stage refers to this Dublin *King John* when noting a performance of the play at Drury Lane on 16 March 1747.[5] However, there is no tangible connection between this Drury Lane performance and that in Dublin. The connection that *The London Stage* (and subsequent scholars) should, I believe, have made is with Drury Lane productions of *King John* in January 1754. For the performances of *King John* on 23, 26, 28 and 31 January the *General Advertiser* states: 'The pieces of music between the Acts, are adapted to the Play, and taken from the Works of Handel & Martini.' It seems possible that these 'pieces of music' are the same as the 'choruses' mentioned above.

The description of the text in the London advertisement happily fits the Dublin words. The text set in Dublin is quite substantial, as can be seen in Appendix B. It does seem unlikely that a new set of words, similar in function to the Dublin ones, should be written for this production if the Dublin words were available. Although the named singers did not come over to England at this time, one important character did. The principal role, King John, of the Drury Lane revival in 1754 was none other than the Mossop who had played the role in Dublin in 1750.[6] It is perfectly possible that he brought the words and music for the choruses over with him. The Dublin advertisement states 'set to Musick by Mr. Lampe', which seems to contradict the London claim that the music was by Handel

and Martini. However, it is quite conceivable that Lampe simply arranged music by Handel and Martini, rather than composing the music himself.

The 1754 Drury Lane production of *King John* received eight performances.[7] The advertisements concerning the music occurred only for the first four performances. This may mean nothing, but may indicate that the singers (who are not named) were not up to the standard of the original Dublin quartet.

Richard II

This was not a particularly popular play, with just twenty-four performances in the first half of the eighteenth century. The first ten performances, at Lincoln's Inn Fields between December 1719 and October 1721, were of an adapted version by Lewis Theobald.[1] This adaptation calls for no specific musical requirements, and no music attached to this production survives.

Shakespeare's original play was performed during three seasons at Covent Garden from 6 February 1738 until 23 October 1739.[2] In addition to military flourishes, music is required at the words 'Music do I hear?'[3] during Richard's soliloquy, shortly before his murder at Pomfret castle. A marked-up edition of the play relating to this production survives, and it has a cue for music at this point.[4] The requirement is for a musical effect, rather than music identified specifically with the play, so it is not surprising that no music survives.

Richard III

With a total of 523 performances, *Richard III* was the third most popular Shakespeare play of the eighteenth century.[1] However, it was Colley Cibber's alteration of *Richard III*, rather than Shakespeare's original, which was acted during this period. Cibber's adaptation calls for some flourishes and marches, and also for 'soft musick' when, in the opening scene of the third act, Lady Anne remarks: 'Let me have Musick to compose my Thoughts'. However, no music attributable to performances of *Richard III* has survived.

The London Stage for 18 March 1734 notes a performance of *Richard III* at Goodman's Fields, commenting: A new Overture to the Play, composed by Mr Bellear'.[2] I have been unable to trace the original advertisement; the *London Stage* transcription is somewhat ambiguous. It is unclear whether 'the Play' referred to is *Richard III* or in fact *The Contrivances*, which also was performed that evening. Nevertheless, there are no records of a composer by the name of Bellear, and the overture seems not to have survived.

Section Three

The Tragedies

Antony and Cleopatra

David Garrick's revival of *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1759 is the first recorded production of that play since Shakespeare's time. The play had, however, seen two adaptations in the 1670s: *Antony and Cleopatra* by Sir Charles Sedley (1677) and John Dryden's *All for Love; or, The World Well Lost* (published in 1678, though performed in December 1677).[1] Sedley's play was not performed in the eighteenth century, though Dryden's adaptation was quite popular. Dryden requires military signals and marches in his work, but no eighteenth-century music specific to this play survives.

Garrick enlisted Edward Capell to abridge Shakespeare's seemingly overlength play. Capell's marked-up Tonson 1734 edition is preserved at the Folger Shakespeare Library (Prompt Ant 3): from the original 3,444 lines he cut some 657 and added three of his own.[2]

Much thought and money was put into the costumes and scenery for this major production, and it never played to an empty house. This makes its short run of just six performances all the more surprising. Several reasons have been put forward for the abandoning of this production: a) Garrick was over-sensitive to adverse criticism of the production; b) unlike *Richard III*, *Macbeth*, *King Lear* and *Hamlet*, *Antony and Cleopatra* lacks a role in which Garrick could excel; and c) the supporting cast was not quite good enough. The popularity of Dryden's *All for Love* may also have been a contributory factor.[3]

There are several indicators that music played an important part amongst the splendid decorations for the revival. The announcements in the *Public Advertiser* for the six performances of the play (on 3, 5, 9, 12, 18 January and 18 May 1759) all state: 'No Gentleman can possibly be admitted behind the Scenes, or into the Orchestra, on Account of the Music, Decorations, and Number of Persons which are necessary to the Representation'. Furthermore, on one of the preliminary pages in the 1758 Tonson edition of this revival, there is the statement: 'The SONG at p.39. being thought too short, an Addition was made to it while the Play was in Rehearsal, and it is perform'd as follows'. A second stanza to 'Come, thou monarch of the vine' is then given.[4] Newspaper advertisements make it clear that this was not a solo number, since they announce: 'The Bacchanalian Song by Mr. Beard, Mr. Champnes, etc.'

In addition to this song, and military signals, music is required in two other instances. The second scene of the second act opens:

> Cleo[patra]: Give me some musick; musick, moody food
> Of us that trade in love.
> att[endant]: -The musick, ho!
>
> Enter MARDIAN
>
> Cleo[patra]: Let it alone; let us to billiards: - come, Charmian.[5]

No further information is given about what music was used here.[6] Similarly, at the start of the following scene we do not know what music was used in response to the instruction:

> Aboard Pompey's Galley off Misenum.
> Under a Pavilion upon Deck, a Banquet set out:
> Musick: Servants attending. Enter MENAS,
> and ENOBARBUS, meeting.[7]

Given the relative importance of music in this production, two things are rather disappointing. First, apart from the newspaper comments cited above, I have found no references to music in any of the contemporary writings about this production. Secondly, none of the music seems to have survived. If nothing else, one would have hoped for an extant setting of 'Come, thou monarch of the vine'. Neighbarger suggests that Chilcot's setting may have been used.[8] I think this is unlikely. Apart from there being no copy of Chilcot's setting with the second stanza required in performance, his song is for a solo voice. The newspaper advertisements clearly state: 'Mr Beard, Mr Champnes, etc.' indicating that a part-song of some sort was used.

Coriolanus

With a total of just 52 performances *Coriolanus* ranks a lowly twenty-sixth in eighteenth-century popularity of Shakespeare's plays.[1] This is surprising on two accounts. First, Coriolanus was universally acknowledged as John Philip Kemble's most successful role.[2] Second, *Coriolanus* was performed in no fewer than six independent versions during the century.[3] These were:
i) Shakespeare's original, performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields between 13 December 1718 and 1 January 1722;[4] ii) an adaptation by John Dennis entitled *The Invader of his Country; or, Fatal Resentment*, performed at Drury Lane just three times in 1719;[5] iii) an adaptation by James Thomson, performed at Covent Garden in 1749;[6] iv) an adaptation attributed to Thomas Sheridan, using material from Shakespeare and Thomson, entitled *Coriolanus; or, The Roman Matron*.[7] This was first performed in Dublin in 1752 and then introduced to Covent Garden in 1754, where it played until 1768;[8] v) an abridged version of Shakespeare's original by Garrick, performed at Drury Lane in 1754 and once in 1755;[9] vi) an adaptation by Kemble, using Shakespeare and Thomson, performed at Drury Lane between 1789 and 1797.[10]

With the exception of the adaptations by Dennis and Thomson, the versions of *Coriolanus* noted above all exploited the opportunities for pomp and splendour inherent in Shakespeare's play.[11] The production at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1718, for example, included 'Scenes, Machines, Triumphant Arches, and other Decorations after the Custom of the Romans'.[12] Although no mention is made of the music, the many flourishes called for in Shakespeare's original, together with the required concluding 'dead march', doubtless added to the grandeur of this production.

The concern for spectacle is evident, too, in Garrick's *Coriolanus*. The second and fifth acts of his version are littered with calls for flourishes, and there are no fewer than six marches. Marches and flourishes, less important for Sheridan, were also important to Kemble.

It was the ovation on Coriolanus's entry to Rome, however, that became the most important spectacle in *Coriolanus* during the eighteenth century.[13] This was introduced by Sheridan, and a description of it is found in the 1755 A. Millar edition:

> Underneath is the Order of the Ovation, as it was exhibited.
>
> But, previous to that, there was a civil procession from the town, consisting of Priests, Flamens, Choristers, Senators, Tribunes, Virgins, Matrons, and the Mother, Wife, and Child of *Coriolanus*. These walked to the sound of flutes and soft instruments, and lined the way to behold the military entry, and congratulate the victor. The Ovation was performed to the sound of drums, fifes and trumpets, in the following order.

The list which follows includes mostly soldiers and standard-bearers, but also contains:

> Two Fifes
> One Drum
> Two Fifes
> One Drum
> Four Serpent Trumpets[14]

We are also informed:

> In the military Procession alone, independent of the Civil there were an hundred and eighteen persons.

It is interesting that this ovation was even more lavish when it was performed again at Dublin. The edition of the play published by M. Williamson (Dublin, 1757) gives the order of the Ovation:

> as it is to be represented at the Theatre Royal in *Smock-Alley*, with considerable Additions to that performed at *Covent Garden*.

In this case it includes:

MUSIC
1 Kettledrum
2 Trumpets
2 Horns
4 Serpent Trumpets
1 Bassoon
2 Haut-Boys
2 Fifes
2 Drums

We also learn that the ovation was to comprise 'upwards of TWO HUNDRED PERSONS'.

The Order of the Ovation, as listed in the 1789 edition of Kemble's adaptation, reveals few musicians among its generally large array. His list contains four trumpets, two fifes and two drums.

Unfortunately, none of the music used for these ovations, or any of the marches, is known to us. Also, despite the details given in the printed editions, we cannot be sure of exactly which musical instruments were used. For example, a contemporary report of a performance of the Sheridan version in 1758 refers to Coriolanus entering 'to the tune of violins and hautboys'.[15] Neither of these instruments is listed in the Millar 1755 edition.

Finally, there remains a song to be considered. Gooch and Thatcher, under 'non-theatrical vocal music' for *Coriolanus*, note a song beginning 'Charmer hear your faithful lover'.[16] Since the song is headed 'A Favourite Song in Coriolanus' there follows the tentative suggestion: 'Composed for a production of *Coriolanus*?'[17] The copy of this song seen by the authors is an engraved single sheet in a scrapbook of Shakespeare music in the Boston Public Library. It is dated by that institution 177-?[18] From Gooch and Thatcher's description it seems that the copy in Boston, which I have not seen, is taken from the second volume of the collection *Calliope or English Harmony*. This two-volume published collection is dated by the British Library 1746.

The song, in fact, was composed two decades earlier and originates from an opera of 1723. Ariosti's *Coriolano*, to a libretto by Haym, deals with the same historical figure as Shakespeare's play, but it ends happily when Coriolanus withdraws his forces, saving his country from ruin. Haym also introduces various love elements. 'Charmer hear your faithful lover' is in fact the famous song 'Più benigno par che arrida' sung by Mrs Robinson when the opera was performed at the King's Theatre in London in 1723 and 1724.[19]

Hamlet

With a total of 601 London performances *Hamlet* was the most frequently produced of all Shakespeare's plays in the eighteenth century.[1] During this time the play remained relatively unaltered from its original, with cuts being the chief amendments.[2] The one exception to this was Garrick's adaptation of 1772. Yet even this version of *Hamlet* is distinguished principally by its omissions - notably of the grave-diggers' scene and Ophelia's funeral - rather than its alterations.[3] As Odell notes: '[*Hamlet*] was handed from Betterton to Wilks, by him to Garrick, and by Bell to Kemble, almost unchanged in its acting estate. The "frenchifying" of it by Garrick was the only break in the inheritance.'[4]

The role of music in *Hamlet* is fairly minor, and yet rather interesting. It is used in two distinct ways. First, there is 'signal' music - military flourishes, normally to announce the arrival of the King and Queen. Secondly, there are the songs by Ophelia and the first grave-digger. The reason why each of these characters sings is very different, as indeed is the manner. Yet the simple, unaccompanied songs are connected in subject-matter, and also provide vivid expressions of the singers' personalities.

There is little to say about the military signals, except that promptbooks suggest that producers were often more liberal in their use of flourishes than is strictly required in Shakespeare's original.[5] This is supported by an observation made by Francis Gentleman in 1770:

> The remarks of Hamlet and his friends, when entered upon the platform, are very politically thrown by the author upon a far different subject from what has brought them there; and with the intervention of a flourish of martial music, usher in the Ghost with as much, or more effect, than at his first appearance.[6]

In neither the early quartos nor the First Folio is the ghost's entry accompanied by music.

The most important use of music in *Hamlet* is to depict Ophelia's madness. Her derangement, towards the end of the fourth act of the play, is represented through her singing of old ballads between passages of somewhat garbled speech. The subject-matter of the songs, death and fickle love, indicates the source of her madness - her confused and devastated feelings about Hamlet, her former lover and now her father's murderer. Francis Gentleman notes:

> Making *Ophelia* sing so frequently, so disjointly, and suiting the words so strictly to her situation, shew great judgement.[7]

Ophelia sings snatches of five different ballads. Interspersed with prose comments these include three stanzas of 'How should I your true love know', and two stanzas each of 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day' and 'And will a not come again'.[8] In addition there are two lines of 'They bore him bare-fac'd on the bier', and the single line 'For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy'.[9] Eighteenth-century acting editions of *Hamlet* suggest that none of these songs was omitted. The 1703 edition notes that the second half of each of the two stanzas of 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day' was cut in performance.[10] Editions from 1718 onwards, however, indicate that the first stanza was sung

complete, but the second one (beginning 'By Gis and by Saint Charity') was omitted. The 1703 edition also fails to identify the line 'For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy' as being sung. This is rectified in the later editions.

An indication of the kind of music to which these ballads were sung is given by Tate Wilkinson, writing at the end of the century:

> Ophelia's songs were never honoured by the assistance of any eminent composer of that time or the present: The same tunes have all been imbibed and communicated traditionally from that to the present period, by the simple means of one actress conveying to the other, from recollection only. And they are so happily conceived, that no supercilious attempt has been profanely offered to spoil what cannot be bettered. Nor do I conjecture that a Handel or a Haydn could have made them more elegantly simple or superior for the allotted purpose, than as they have stood unadulterated from their beginning to the present hour, notwithstanding the rapid improvement made by musical amateurs in this age of crotchets and quavers.[11]

The earliest extant printed versions of Ophelia's songs are those published by J. and H. Caulfield in *c*1805 under the title: "Ophelia's Songs Sung by *M^rs^ Jordan* in Hamlet. Arranged for the Piano Forte & Voice BY *D^r^ Arnold*". In his later anthology of Shakespeare music Caulfield explains the origins of the earlier publication:

> The Compiler of this work took up the subject upwards of *sixty* years ago, when connected with the trade as music-seller, and also with the Theatre. Numerous enquiries were made of him for the music that was sung in so captivating a manner by Mrs. Jordan, as Ophelia.
>
> It was traditional, but never published; and under these circumstances he was induced to endeavour to write out the melodies by the ear - which Mrs. Jordan herself was kind enough to listen to, and approve, - when with the addition of a bass by Dr. Arnold it was published, and met with a success that led to the idea of compiling all the similar adaptations, with the rest of Shakespeare's Plays.[12]

Dorothy Jordan played the part of Ophelia at Drury Lane from 1796 to 1799.[13] The music issued by Caulfield in *c*1805 comprises virtually all the songs as represented in the acting editions of *Hamlet* from 1718 onwards (that is, with the omission of the second stanza of 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day'); only the single line 'For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy' is missing.

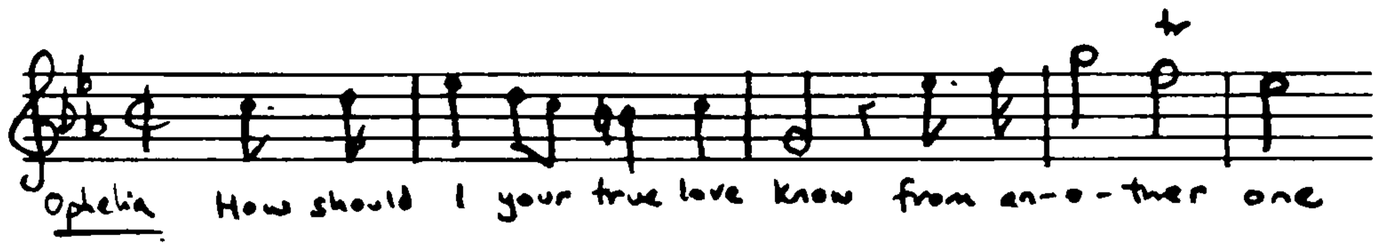
When William Linley published his two-volume collection of Shakespeare settings in 1816, he was clearly unaware of Caulfield's publication. Thus he commented:

> Of the wild and pathetic melodies of Ophelia, the Author can give no account. He has introduced them as he remembers them to have been exquisitely sung by the late Mrs. Forster when she was Miss Field, and belonged to Drury Lane Theatre; and the impression remains too strong upon his mind to make him doubt the correctness of the airs, agreeably to her delivery of them. The tunes were never, he believes, published before, and were probably the detached compositions of different authors. The words which

> SHAKSPEARE has introduced are not all his own; some of them may be found in Percy's old ballads. Though these melodies, when sung upon the stage in character, are better left by themselves, yet in a work, like the present, it appeared necessary to harmonize them.[14]

It is instructive to compare Linley's and Caulfield's settings. The three main melodies, 'How should I your true love know', 'Tomorrow is Saint Valentine's day' and 'And will he not come again', though not identical, are essentially the same tunes in both collections.[15] The only significant difference is that 'How should I your true love know' is transcribed in triple metre by Linley and duple metre by Caulfield:

Ex 1a 'How should I your true love know' bars 1-4 in Linley, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* II 50.



Ex 1b 'How should I your true love know' bars 1-4 in Caulfield, *Ophelia's Songs* (arranged by Arnold).

As already noted, 'For bonny sweet Robin is all my joy' is omitted in Caulfield's publication, but it is present in Linley's.[16] Only 'They bore him bare-fac'd on the bier' has entirely different melodies in the two collections. Linley made the following remark about this song:

> The Author does not recollect that the words "They bore him barefaced on the bier!" were ever introduced. They certainly are not sung now.[17]

and provided his own setting.

Linley's comment about 'They bore him bare-fac'd' poses a problem. The presence of the song in eighteenth-century acting editions of *Hamlet* is itself no guarantee that it was performed. However, its inclusion in Caulfield's collection suggests it was, which would seem to contradict Linley's statement. The answer may lie in the date at which Linley was writing. It is natural to assume that Linley wrote the comment close to the publication of his two volumes (1816). However, it appears that he actually compiled Ophelia's songs in the early 1790s: Mrs Forster, whose singing he recalls, acted the part of Ophelia during the 1780s, and died in 1789.[18] If this is the case, it is perfectly conceivable that 'They bore him bare-fac'd' had not recently (that is, relative to the 1780s) been sung in the theatre, even though, as we have seen, it was sung by Mrs Jordan in the later 1790s.

Gooch and Thatcher suggest that Linley's new setting of 'They bore him bare-fac'd' may have been the 'additional *Air*, lately composed by W. Linley' advertised as being sung by Ophelia at Drury Lane on 29 April 1796.[19] This seems perfectly feasible, until one realises that the Ophelia for

this production was none other than Mrs Jordan. It is unlikely that Mrs Jordan would have sung Linley's version of 'They bore him bare-fac'd' on this occasion, and then a totally unrelated version of the same lines to Caulfield when he compiled his collection. This leaves open the question of which new song by Linley was added.

There is one additional work associated with Ophelia that is mentioned neither by Gooch and Thatcher nor by Neighbarger. Both Mrs Billington and Miss Poole, who were first-rate singers, introduced Henry Purcell's *Mad Bess*[20] during performances of *Hamlet* at Covent Garden in the early 1790s.[21] In particular, Miss Poole's rendering of this song drew admiration in the contemporary press:

> The play was got up in order to introduce Miss Poole (a lady whose vocal powers have been for some time known to the Public) to the stage, in the character of Ophelia, which her figure, as well as vocal talents, rendered extremely proper to make the subject of her *entré*. ... In the scenes in which she is under the influence of a deranged mind, her singing had a powerful effect, especially in the old song of *Mad Bess*, which, though somewhat too long for the stage during the progress of a play, was listened to not only with patience but pleasure. She sung it admirably.[22]

The other character who sings in *Hamlet* is the grave-digger. That he sang in eighteenth-century productions is clear; what music he performed less certain. The three stanzas that the grave-digger sings[23] are mangled versions of an old poem by Thomas Lord Vaux.[24] Chappell provides a tune for these words which had apparently become traditional in eighteenth-century performance.[25] Caulfield, in his collection, gives a melody which, incidently, is the same as that assigned to Stephano for 'I shall no more to sea' in *The Tempest*.[26]

It is apparent that other pieces were sometimes substituted for the grave-digger's song. Thomas D'Urfey's *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* contains: 'The Sexton's song. Sung by Ben. Johnson, in the Play of Hamlet, Prince of Denmark, acting the Grave maker'.[27] This eleven-stanza ballad, opening with the words 'Once more to these arms my lov'd pix-ax and spade', is set to the tune 'Which nobody could deny'.[28] Although the song was not published until 1719, Johnson first played the part of the grave-digger at the Queen's Theatre, London, on 11 January 1707.[29]

Richard Leveridge is the only other actor to have introduced different songs into his role as grave-digger. For the performance of *Hamlet* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 15 April 1730 the part of the grave-digger was performed by Leveridge, 'With Two New Songs in Character'.[30] Furthermore, for the production at Covent Garden on 14 May 1734 it was announced: 'In the role of the Gravedigger will be introduc'd some additional Songs in the Ballad stile by Leveridge'.[31] Unfortunately, in neither case do we know which songs Leveridge actually sang.

It is perhaps not surprising, given *Hamlet*'s popularity, that, at different times, additional musical items were inserted in performances of the play. The inclusion of Purcell's *Mad Bess* has already been mentioned. There are three other works that, for the same reason, merit some discussion.

The earliest, and in some ways most problematical, is a song by John Eccles. It was published by Thomas Cross in *c*1700 and was 'Sung by M^r^ Knapp in the Tragedy of HAMLET, Prince of Denmark'. The non-Shakespearean text is as follows:

A Swain long slighted and disdain'd
Of cruel Cinthia's Scorn and pride;
To an Old trusty Friend complain'd,
Who well and wisely thus complain'd.

By long experience have I known,
And tell you that you need not fear;
The Town that parly's will be won,
And She will yield who once will hear.

The song, which may not originally have been destined for *Hamlet*, appears to be a comment on the relationship between Hamlet and Ophelia.[32] It is clear from various lines in the play that Hamlet was genuinely in love with Ophelia. He must have been very hurt by her ignoring him after Polonius's command to his daughter not to talk to Hamlet any more (I iii 132-35). The song could well have been sung during Hamlet's encounter with Ophelia in the opening scene of the third act.

The second piece was composed by Henry Carey. Advertisements for the performance of *Hamlet* at Goodman's Fields on 9 February 1736 announced: 'The Ceremony of Hamlet's Lying in State, after the Manner of his Grace, the late Duke of Buckingham. With New Musick proper to the occasion set by Mr Carey'.[33] Norman Gillespie argues, convincingly, that the music used for this additional scene is a composition contained in Carey's *The Musical Century* entitled 'The Apotheosis of the most noble Edmund Sheffield Duke of Buckingham who died at Rome ye 30th day of October 1735 and lies entombed in Westminster Abbey'.[34] As Gillespie points out, Buckingham House had been opened on 26 January 1736 for a Ceremony of lying-in-state of the late Duke.[35] Such public occasions were not infrequently mimicked on stage, thus Giffard introduced a similar ceremony at the end of a performance of *The Unhappy Favourite, or the Earl of Essex* at Goodman's Fields on 7 February 1736.[36] No music is mentioned on this occasion, although Carey's piece may have been used. Gillespie notes that the success of the lying-in-state scene with Carey's music was such that, after its inclusion in *Hamlet* on 9 February, the scene was performed as a separate afterpiece. It accompanied *The Constant Couple* and *The Old Batchelor* the following two nights.[37] Carey's piece is in two large sections. The first is choral, though only the treble and bass parts are given in *The Musical Century*, and in D minor. The writing is homophonic, with occasional imitation between the parts. The same music is used for the second stanza as the first. The setting of the third, however, provides a contrast in mood, texture, mode and metre. The first two stanzas are addressed to the 'Immortal Pow'rs' above, but the third, beginning 'Oh he was nature's wonder, / All Goodness mildness Truth', recalls the deceased duke. The music moves from D minor, Largo and ¢ to D major, Larghetto and 6/8 time. Further contrast is provided through the use of a solo voice, and also of lively dotted rhythms. After this section, however, there is an appropriate repeat of the solemn opening verses.

Finally, an advertisement for the performance of *Hamlet* on 9 October 1793 informs us there was: 'In act V a Dirge set by Shield, words from Shakspeare'.[38] Introduced for Ophelia's funeral, this was no doubt in emulation of the popular dirge for Juliet's funeral added to performances of *Romeo and Juliet* from 1750. Gooch and Thatcher have wrongly identified William Shield's dirge as being the one entitled *Shakespear's Duel and Loadstars*, a setting of *The Passionate Pilgrim* XV 1-16.[39] The words of 'A Dirge, As performed in the Tragedy of Hamlet, at Covent-Garden Theatre' were published in the *European Magazine* for November 1793.[40] These are in fact stanza X of *The Passionate Pilgrim*, beginning with the words 'Sweet rose, fair flower'. Shield's setting can be found in his *Collection of Canzonets and an Elegy*.[41] It is the final number, and bears the title: 'Shakespears Love's Lost, an Elegy. Sung at the Tomb of a young Virgin'. It is a choral piece, with an accompaniment that includes flute, trumpet, drums and bells. The setting is sectional, though in Eb major throughout. It begins with an instrumental introduction in 3/4 'Very slow and solemn'. Sopranos and altos then enter, singing in parallel thirds. This short opening section is followed by a much longer one, marked 'Andante' and in common time. Here the sopranos and altos are soon joined by tenors and basses. The writing continues to be mostly homophonic, though there is some variety of texture, with each of the voice parts occasionally dividing into two, giving a very rich sound. The final section returns to 3/4 'Lento ma non troppo', and begins with a duet of tenors and basses. The piece closes, however, with full chorus and a quasi-religious plagal cadence.

Julius Caesar

Julius Caesar was performed 186 times during the eighteenth century, with most of these performances (163) occurring in the first fifty years, making it rank sixteenth overall of Shakespeare's plays for the century.[1] There are two principal acting editions of *Julius Caesar* from the eighteenth century: one printed by G. Strahan, W. Mears, W. Chetwood and R. Francklin in 1719, the other by J. Bell in 1773.[2] There is also a promptbook at the Folger Shakespeare Library, probably prepared by Joseph Younger for the Covent Garden revival in 1766.[3] These three sources indicate that the play was relatively little altered from the original in performance during the eighteenth century.[4]

As well as various military signals, Shakespeare's play calls for some music in the fourth act. Brutus requests his page Lucius to play him some music, presumably to soothe his depressed spirits. In the First Folio the cue is 'Musicke, and a song'. The editions of 1684 and 1691 similarly have 'Musick and a Song'.[5] The 1719 edition has 'Musick here behind'. This is echoed in the Folger promptbook, a Restoration quarto, with the printed 'Musick and a Song' deleted and the cue 'one plays behind' inserted. The Bell 1773 edition merely has 'music'. None of these editions gives any words for a song. The implication from these cues is that normally during the eighteenth century only instrumental music was used, and that the boy actor mimed playing an instrument. One interesting exception to this must have occurred at Drury Lane in the mid 1730s when Lucius was played by 'Master Arne'.[6] This was Thomas Arne's younger brother, Richard, who was employed at that time as a singer, and who presumably sang at this point.[7] Unfortunately, we lack information concerning what music may have been used during any of these performances.[8]

During the 1730s performances of *Julius Caesar* at Drury Lane were often accompanied by musical entertainments between the acts. From *The London Daily Post, and General Advertiser* we learn that the production of *Julius Caesar* on 8, 9, 11, 12 and 13 November 1734 was: 'With New Scenes, Habits, and other Decorations and proper Pieces of Musick between the Acts'. For 4 December 1734 the wording was changed to: 'and proper Select Pieces of Musick between the Acts'. For 19 January 1738 the advertisement reads: 'With Scenes and Decorations proper to the Play. With Select Pieces of Musick And Entertainments of Dancing, particularly A new Ballet'. Further details are given for 8 February 1738: 'With Select Peices of Musick, and Entertainments of Dancing, viz. Act II A Grand Polish Dance Act IV A Grand Ballet'. Despite the claims that the music was 'proper' to the play, there is no evidence to suggest that any of the music played between the acts of *Julius Caesar* was related to the play.

A different situation pertains to some *Julius Caesar* choruses. John Sheffield, the Duke of Buckingham, adapted and expanded Shakespeare's play into two separate tragedies (published posthumously in 1722).[9] His *Julius Caesar* is based on the first three acts of the original, with *Marcus Brutus* covering the final two acts.[10] Between the acts in both plays there are choruses which comment on the action. Although Sheffield's plays were never acted, the choruses were set to music. John Ernest Galliard's settings of the four choruses in *Julius Caesar* were performed with his serenata *Love and Folly* at the King's Theatre in 1739.[11] These choruses survive in manuscript both in the

British Library and in Boston Public Library.[12] Giovanni Bononcini's choruses for *Marcus Brutus* are at Nottingham University Library.[13] These were apparently sung at Buckingham House (now Palace) in January 1723.[14] Apt though they may have been, there is no evidence of an association of these choruses with any eighteenth-century performances of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*.

King Lear

King Lear was the sixth most popular of Shakespeare's plays in the eighteenth century.[1] Yet it was Nahum Tate's alteration of 1681, and not Shakespeare's original, that was acted during this time.[2] As well as a happy ending (in which Lear, Cordelia and Gloucester all survive) Cordelia and Edgar are made lovers. Tate also omitted the Fool.

Garrick restored parts of Shakespeare in his alteration of 1756, but kept the love story, the happy ending and the omission of the Fool.[3] Colman's adaptation of 1768, in which Tate's love story is deleted but the happy ending retained, is the closest of all eighteenth-century versions to Shakespeare's original.[4] His thoughts about the Fool are contained in the 'Advertisement' to the play:

> I had once some idea of retaining the character of the *fool* ... yet, after the most serious consideration, I was convinced that such a scene "would sink into burlesque" in the representation, and would not be endured on the modern stage.[5]

Colman's adaptation, performed at Covent Garden between 20 Feb 1768 and 8 May 1773 was not very successful, and was eventually replaced by Tate's version.[6] When Kemble altered the play in 1788 he relied on Tate's adaptation.[7]

The main vehicle for music in Shakespeare's *King Lear* is the Fool, with his songs. However, as has already been noted, the Fool was omitted from performances of *King Lear* during the eighteenth century. Indeed, he was restored to the play only in 1838.[8] Not surprisingly, *King Lear* also requires a number of military signals. These are retained in all the adaptations.[9]

There is one other cue for music in Shakespeare's play. This is towards the end of the fourth act when Lear, under Cordelia's doctor, awakes with his former sanity somewhat restored.[10] Although this scene is present in all the eighteenth-century adaptations, none of the printed copies contains a cue for music. However, a promptbook, believed to be Garrick's, does call for music here.[11] In this, as in Colman's, version the scene now opens the concluding act. The ink annotation at this point in the promptbook reads:

> Curtain slow - with soft musick[12]

Tate also requires music at the opening of his fourth act, which is a love-scene between Edmund and Regan.[13] This scene, however, is cut from later versions of the play.[14]

The music required, as outlined above, is all for general effects. It is not surprising, therefore, that none of the music used in any of the eighteenth-century performances of *King Lear* is known to survive.

Macbeth

Given its undoubted popularity today it is perhaps not surprising to learn that *Macbeth* was the second most frequently acted Shakespeare play in London during the eighteenth century.[1] However, unlike that other great tragedy *Hamlet*, *Macbeth* was not left unaltered. *Macbeth*'s success was due, at least in part, to the employment of additional musical scenes, featuring singing, dancing and the use of machinery - all centred on the witches.

The theatrical potential of Shakespeare's witches seems already to have been exploited in the early days of the play's performance history. In the First Folio (1623), the earliest extant source of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, two songs are called for; in each case only the opening line is given, not the complete text. These are: 'Come away, come away' and 'Black spirits';[2] the witches are also required to dance.[3] The songs are in fact from Middleton's play *The Witch*. It is generally believed that the Hecate scenes which introduce these diversions are interpolations, probably by Middleton himself.[4] In other words *Macbeth*, as present in the First Folio, is already in a form corrupted by performance tradition.

It was the witches' role, once again, that was expanded in the Restoration adaptation of *Macbeth*. This alteration was made by Sir William Davenant around 1663.[5] Davenant 'modernised' Shakespeare's language, made a number of cuts and developed the role of the Macduffs. In addition, he inserted a scene for witches at the end of the second act.[6] In this new scene the witches sing and dance, but they only speak four lines.

The impact of the three musical witch scenes in this version of *Macbeth* can be gauged by an entry in Samuel Pepys's diary for 19 April 1667:

> Here [at Lincoln's Inn Fields] we saw *Macbeth*, which though I have seen it often, yet is it one of the best plays for a stage, and variety of dancing and music, that ever I saw. So being very much pleased.[7]

Six years later the play had transferred to the new Dorset Garden Theatre where, with the addition of spectacular scenery and stage machinery, it caused even more of a sensation. Thus the restoration prompter John Downes reported:

> The Tragedy of Macbeth, alter'd by Sir William Davenant; being drest in all it's Finery, as new Cloath's, new Scenes, Machines, as flyings for the Witches; with all the Singing and Dancing in it ... it Recompenc'd double the Expence; it proves still a lasting Play.[8]

Davenant's alteration continued to be acted until the 1740s. Such was the impression of the singing witches that, when Garrick restored Shakespeare's text in 1744, he felt it unwise to part with the operatic element.[9] Similarly Kemble, in 1794, maintained the singing witches, as did later managers.[10] Thus, singing and dancing witches were the norm in London performances of *Macbeth* until well into the nineteenth century.[11] What is rather unusual is that it was only one particular setting of the Middleton/Davenant lyrics, the so-called 'famous music', that was played consistently at

the theatres from 1702 onwards. I know of no other instance of newly-composed theatre music acquiring such a long-standing attachment to the play for which it was intended.[12]

To understand and evaluate the 'famous music' it is useful to consider its predecessors. The earliest surviving witch music for *Macbeth* is a setting of Middleton's song 'Come away', originating from the first third of the seventeenth century. Although unattributed in the two manuscripts in which it survives, it is believed to have been composed by Robert Johnson.[13] It is a setting of virtually the complete Middleton text, excluding only the lines 'Hark, hark, the cat sings a brave / treble in her own language!'[14] Written in a straightforward declamatory style and accompanied by a simple bass, the piece starts in duple metre and moves into triple time for the concluding lines (from 'no ringe of bells'). Unfortunately, there is no contemporary setting of the other Middleton text 'Black spirits and white'.

John P. Cutts believes that, as well as this setting of 'Come away', the original music for two witches' dances also survives.[15] Two anonymous dance tunes are to be found in BL: Add MS 10444, where they are labelled 'The first witches dance' and 'The second witches dance' respectively.[16] The incipits of these dances are as follows:

Ex. 1a: Add MS 10444 'The first witches dance'.

Ex. 1b: Add MS 10444 'The second witches dance'.

Cutts suggests that the dances were composed by Robert Johnson, and argues that, whereas the first had previously been used in Jonson's *Masque of Queens* and Middleton's *Witch*, the second was composed specifically for *Macbeth*. This argument is slightly puzzling because the play contains only one cue for a witches' dance (IV i 132).[17]

Moving to the Restoration, and to Davenant's alteration of *Macbeth*, things become even more problematic. As well as the evidence from the printed texts of the play,[18] it is clear from contemporary accounts, as cited above, that music played a prominent role in productions of Davenant's alteration. Downes further informs us that the composer of this music was 'Mr. *Lock*'.[19] Surprisingly, however, very little of Matthew Locke's music seems to have survived. In fact, there are just two dances, only one of which is attributed to him in early sources.[20] This has led scholars to suggest that, rather than replacing Johnson's music, Locke merely supplemented it.[21]

The first of these dances is found in four seventeenth-century printed collections:

i) *Musick's Delight on the Cithren* (1666) p67 'A Jig called Macbeth'.

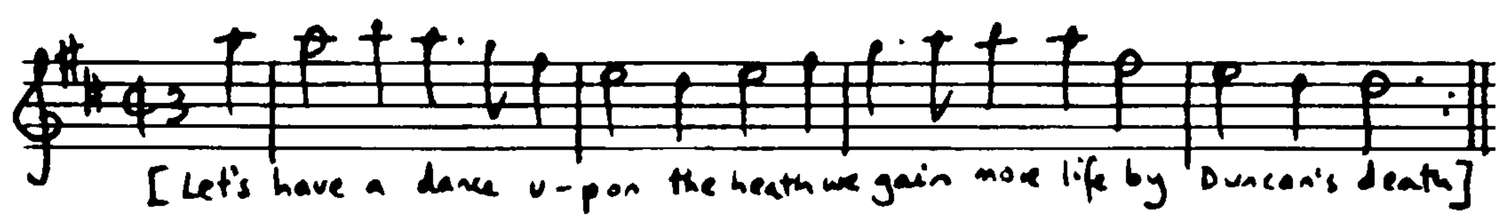
ii) *Apollo's Banquet* (1669) no 11 'The Dance in the play Macbeth'.[22]

iii) Thomas Greeting's *The Pleasant Companion: or new Lessons and Instructions for the Flagelet* (1672) 'Mackbeth'.[23]

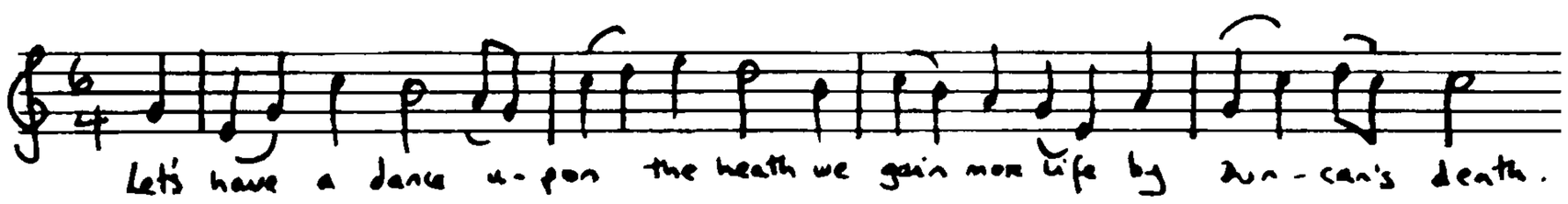
iv) *Musick's Recreation on the VIOL, Lyra-way* 2nd edition (1682) p10 no 15 'MAckbeth'.

In three of these sources the dance is anonymous. In Greeting's work, however, the initials 'M. L.' appear at the end of the tune. These letters are assumed to refer to Matthew Locke.

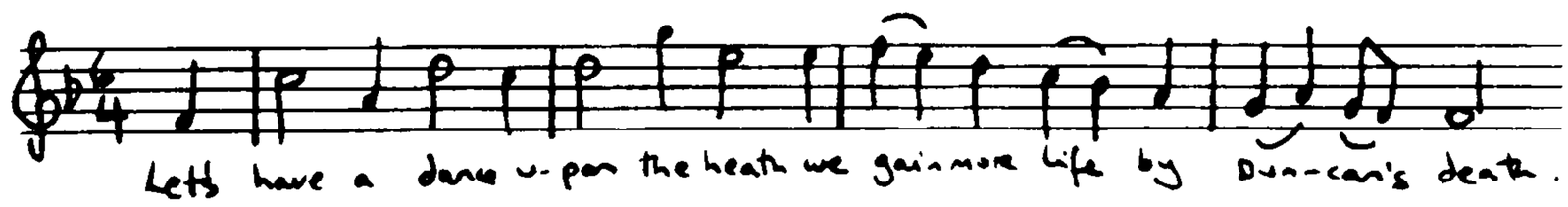
In all cases the dance is purely instrumental. Thomas Oliphant, however, seems to have been the first to have noticed that Davenant's words 'Let's have a dance upon the heath' (from the added Witch scene at the conclusion of the second act) fit the tune perfectly.[24] It seems likely that, as is the case in Leveridge's later setting, this music was both sung and danced to. Oliphant was also struck by the similarities between Locke's music and subsequent settings of the same lyrics, which would suggest that the later composers knew the work of their predecessors.[25] Below are the opening bars of 'Let's have a dance' as set by Locke, Eccles and Leveridge:



Ex. 2a: [Matthew Locke], 'Let's have a dance upon the heath' bars 1-4.



Ex. 2b: John Eccles, 'Let's have a dance upon the heath' bars 1-4.

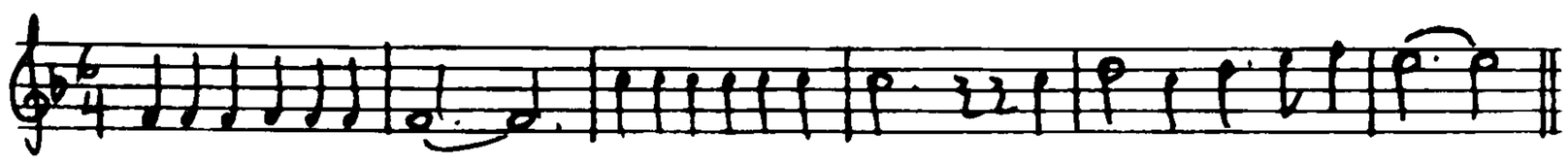


Ex. 2c: Richard Leveridge, 'Let's have a dance upon the heath' bars 1-4.

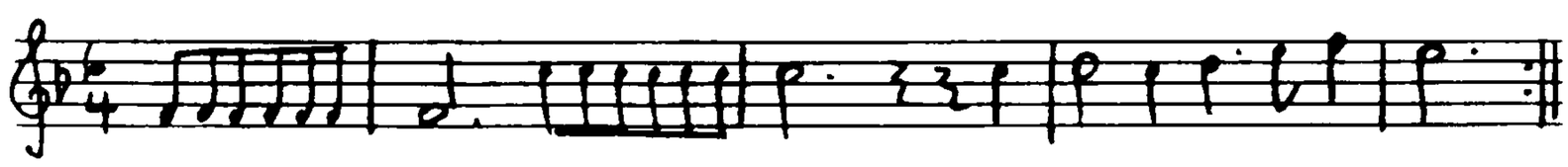
The second dance believed to have been composed by Locke, is anonymous in all its sources. It is present in only one early printed work, *Apollo's Banquet* of 1669 (no. 63), labelled 'The Witches Dance'.[26] Unlike the first dance, it is not found in any of the later editions of *Apollo's Banquet*. The interesting thing about this dance is that it is the only seventeenth-century piece of music known to have been used in performances of *Macbeth* during the eighteenth century. It is found in several of the manuscripts of Leveridge's *Macbeth* music, including the earliest score (Cfm: MS 87). In most cases the dance has been slightly altered, as a comparison of the opening bars will show:

Ex. 3a: The Witches Dance, *Apollo's Banquet* (1669).[27]

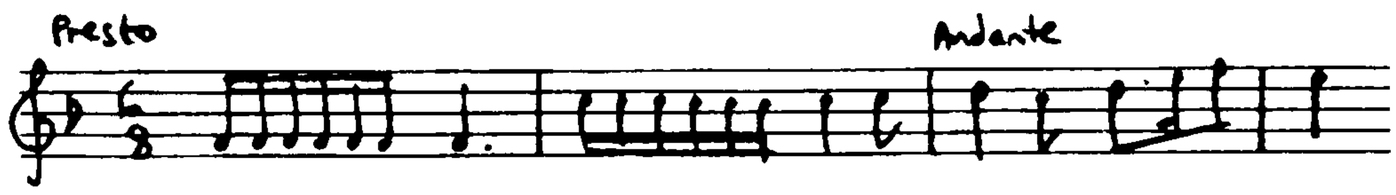
Ex. 3b: Dance, Cfm: MS 87.



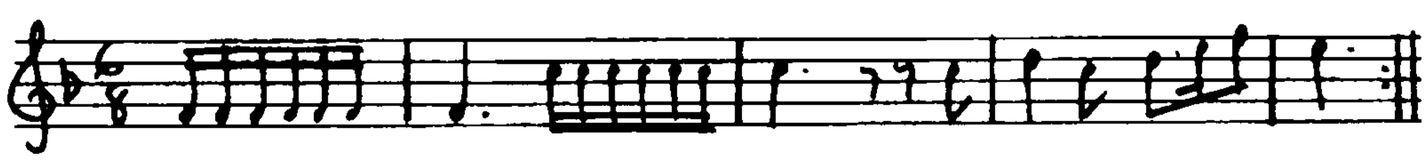
Ex. 3c: Dance of witches at the end of the play, Bp: G.4060.13.



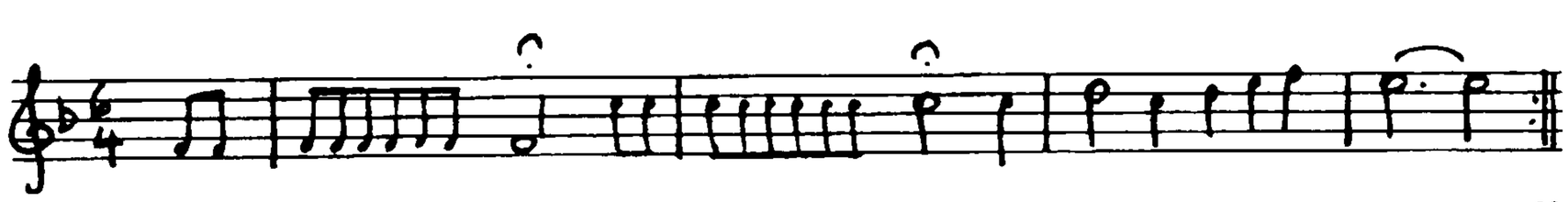
Ex. 3d: Witches Dance, WS: w.b.540.



Ex. 3e: The Witches Dance, WS: w.b.529.



Ex. 3f: Witches dance, Lcm: MS 2232.



Ex. 3g: Witches dance, Ckc: MS 213.[28]

By the end of the seventeenth century Locke's and Johnson's music had been superseded by that of John Eccles. In contrast to the earlier versions this setting survives virtually complete.

The primary source of Eccles' *Macbeth* music is a holograph manuscript held by the British Library (BL: Add MS 12219), which shows signs of theatrical use. All later manuscripts seem to have been copied directly, or indirectly, from this source.[29] Because of the scant nature of records at the end of the century, there is some confusion over the date of composition and performance of Eccles's work. BL: Add MS 12219 contains names for all the soloists required. Most of these singers are known to have been active with Betterton's company at Lincoln's Inn Fields around 1695 or 1696.[30] In several instances names have been crossed out and replaced by others. Two of the new singers, Cook and Short, are known to have worked at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the early years of the eighteenth century.[31] This suggests that Eccles's music was first sung at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1695 or 1696, and continued to be sung there for at least six years. It is scored for four-part strings with continuo, though the opening symphony also requires a serpent. In addition to an S.A.T.B. chorus, Eccles calls for two soprano soloists, one alto, one tenor and, apparently, no fewer than five bass soloists, one of whom takes the role of Hecate. The alto and tenor solos are rather brief, and most of the bass solos can be sung by a single bass.

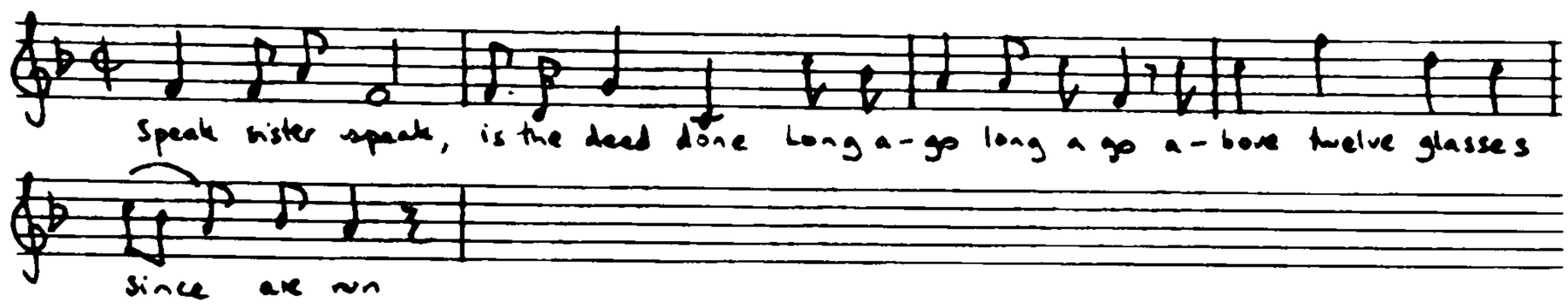
Eccles's musical setting is quite simple, yet good dramatic writing, which deserves a modern airing. It is imaginative and varied, building up through solos and duets to exciting tutti choruses. Most of the words are set fairly syllabically, with little text repetition except in the choruses. Eccles set all three musical scenes, omitting just the final seventeen lines (from 'Now I go, and now I fly') at the end of the third act. Also absent is the dance required in the fourth act after the witches have shown Macbeth the apparitions.

No doubt it was in response to Eccles's fine music that Richard Leveridge, at the rival theatrical company, was spurred into writing his *Macbeth* music. Though inferior in many ways, Leveridge's music caught the public's imagination and, as has already been noted, played a central role in performances of *Macbeth* until well into the nineteenth century.

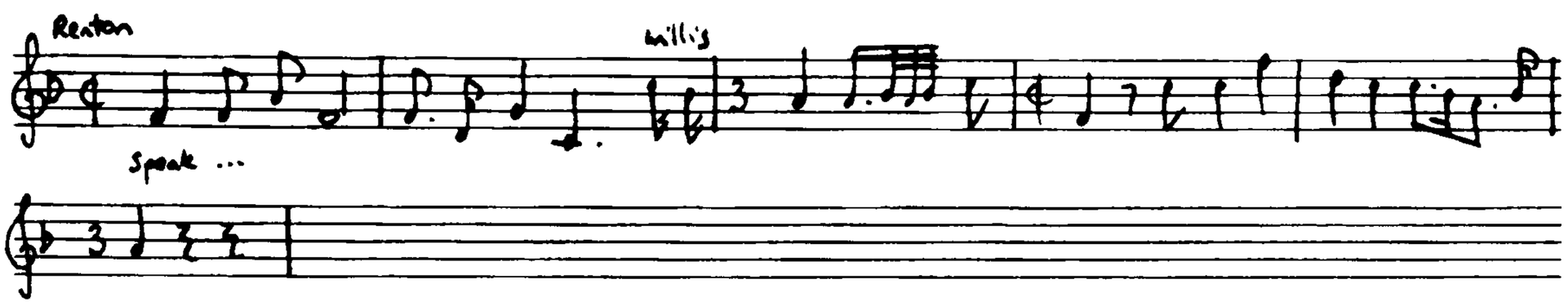
The earliest surviving source of Leveridge's music, Cfm: MS 87, dates from the first decade of the eighteenth century. A comparison of this music with that by Eccles reveals many similarities. Leveridge, like Eccles, adopted a simple, rather direct style. Solos are relatively short and unelaborate, and there are many lively, contrapuntal choruses to provide variety of texture.[32] The S.A.T.B. chorus is supported by four-part strings with, presumably, continuo. The alternation of solos and choruses is, of course, to some extent dictated by the libretto. Nevertheless, despite some differences in emphasis, much of Leveridge's choice of scoring is surprisingly similar to that of Eccles. The influence of Eccles's setting can also be found in other details. For example, the rhythmic similarities between the two settings of 'Let's have a dance' are apparent in the example given earlier. In addition this is the one solo of any real length in *Macbeth*.[33] In both cases it is accompanied simply by continuo, and not by the full complement of strings. Also, the end of each of the two stanzas is marked by a short ritornello. In Eccles's setting the chorus repeats the previous four bars; in Leveridge's the tutti strings play five bars which, though not repeating the previous bars, develop them in a similar vein.

The biggest difference between the two *Macbeth* settings occurs in the music required for the third act. Here Leveridge provides instrumental music to accompany the use of machines. First there is a 'Symphony at the descending of the Machin' for the witches' entrance. Later there is another 'Symphony whilst Hackett places himself in the Machin'. Both of the symphonies are fairly short but vigorous pieces, with the strings pumping out energetic rhythms. Finally, there is a concluding symphony as 'The Machin ascends and the Singers go off'. Another important difference in this act concerns the lyrics. Leveridge omitted to set the seven lines starting 'Here comes down one to fetch his due'. However, he did set the ten lines beginning 'Now I go, and now I fly', which Eccles did not.

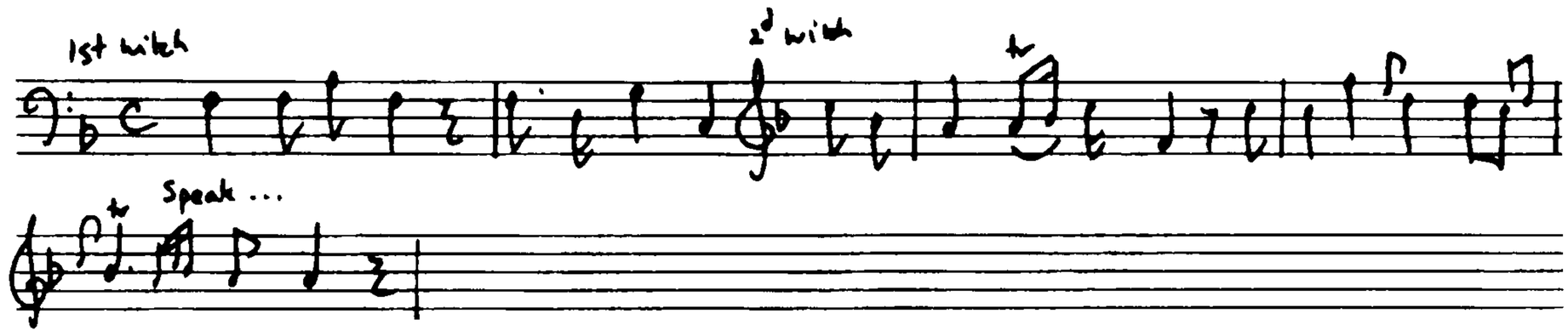
The long-lasting popularity of Leveridge's work, and its transference to other theatres, naturally led to revisions in the music and the words. Generally speaking these changes are rather minor. The freer recitative-like sections, such as the opening 'Speak sister speak', show the greatest variation between sources, as the examples below illustrate:



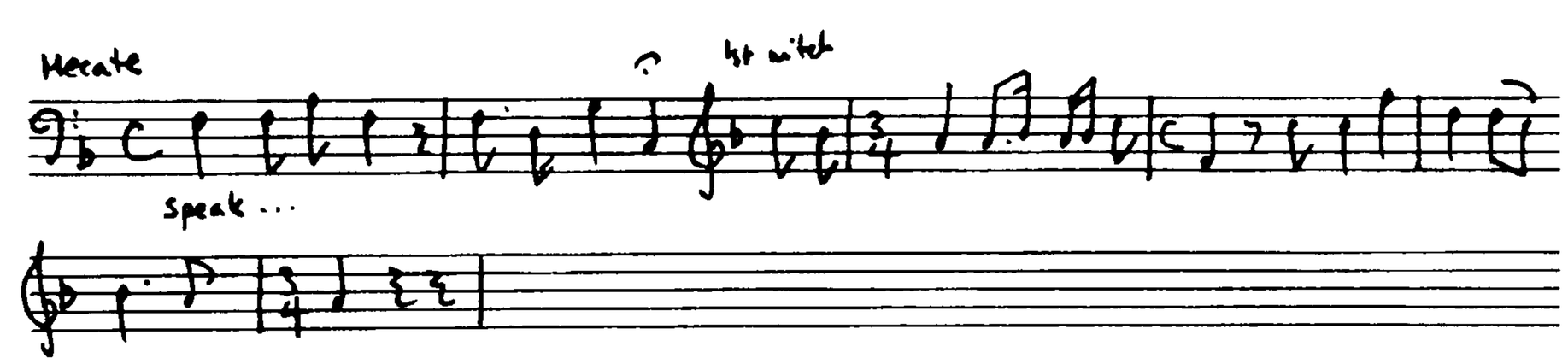
Ex. 4a: 'Speak sister speak', Cfm: MS 87.



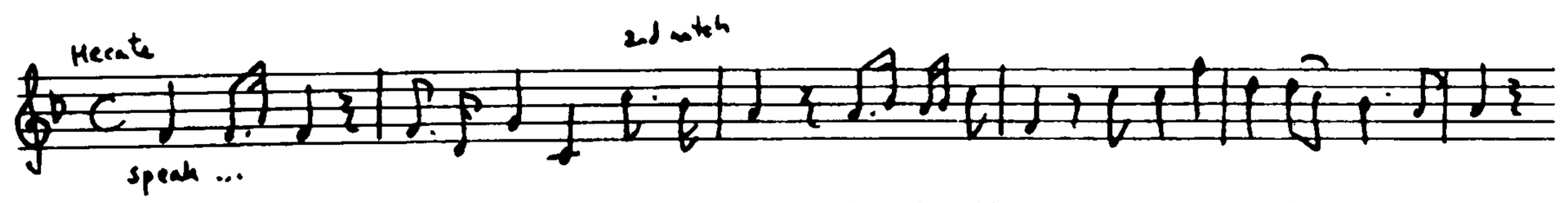
Ex. 4b: 'Speak sister speak', Ws: w.b.537.



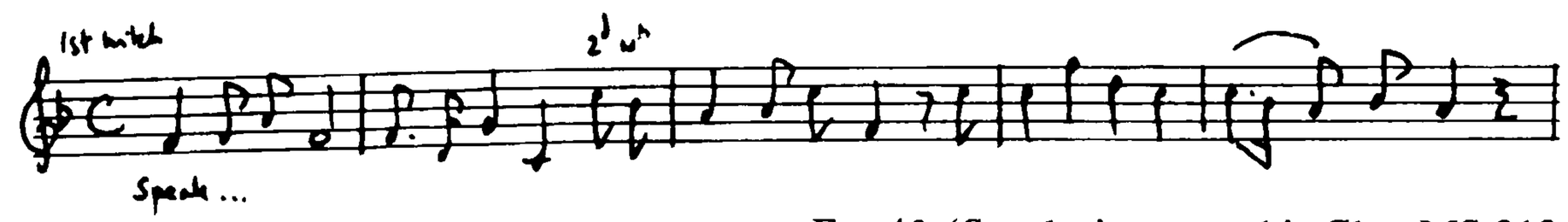
Ex. 4c: 'Speak sister speak', Ws: w.b.540.



Ex. 4d: 'Speak sister speak', Bp: G.4060.13.

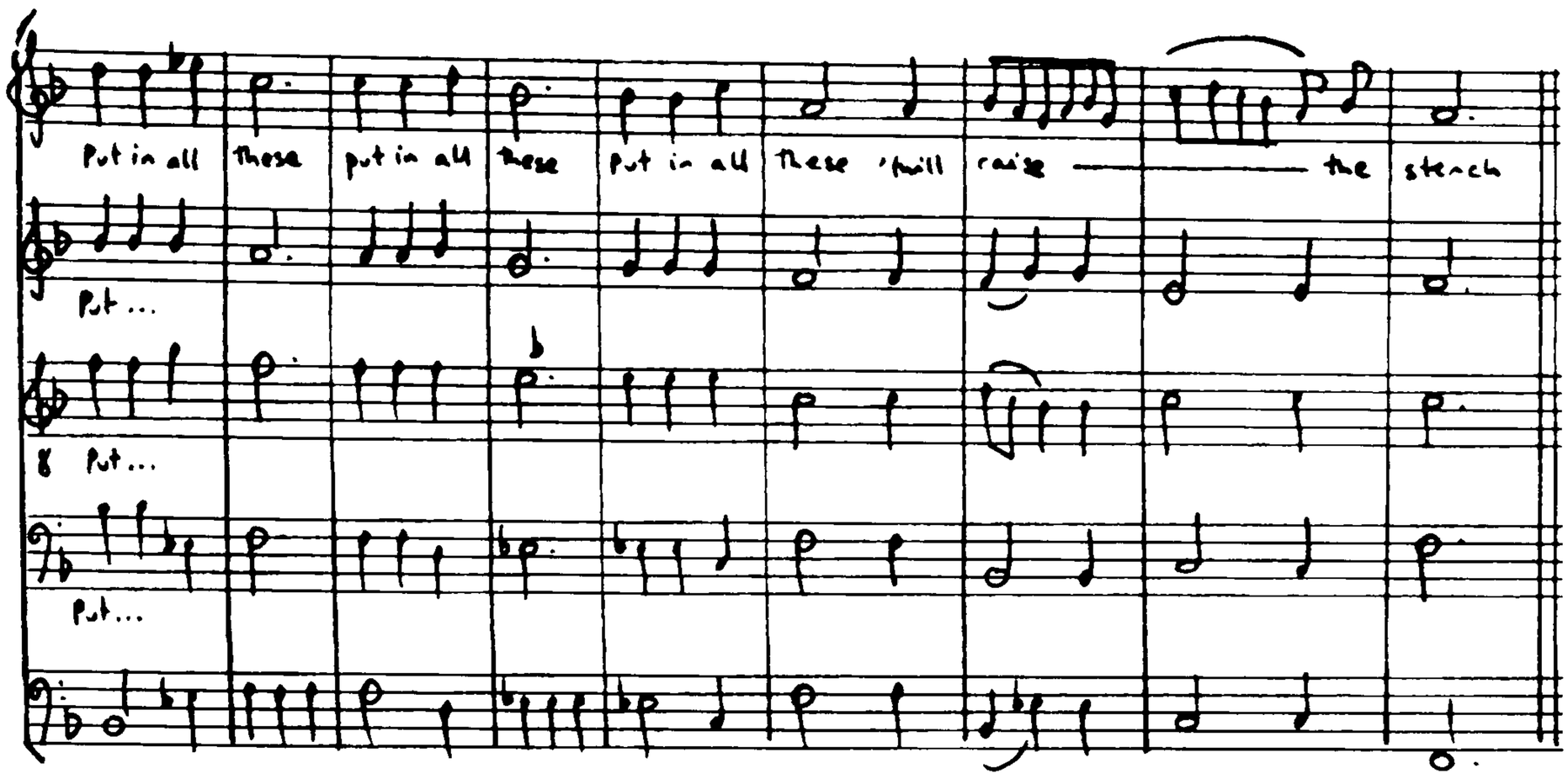


Ex. 4e: 'Speak sister speak', Ws: w.b.529.



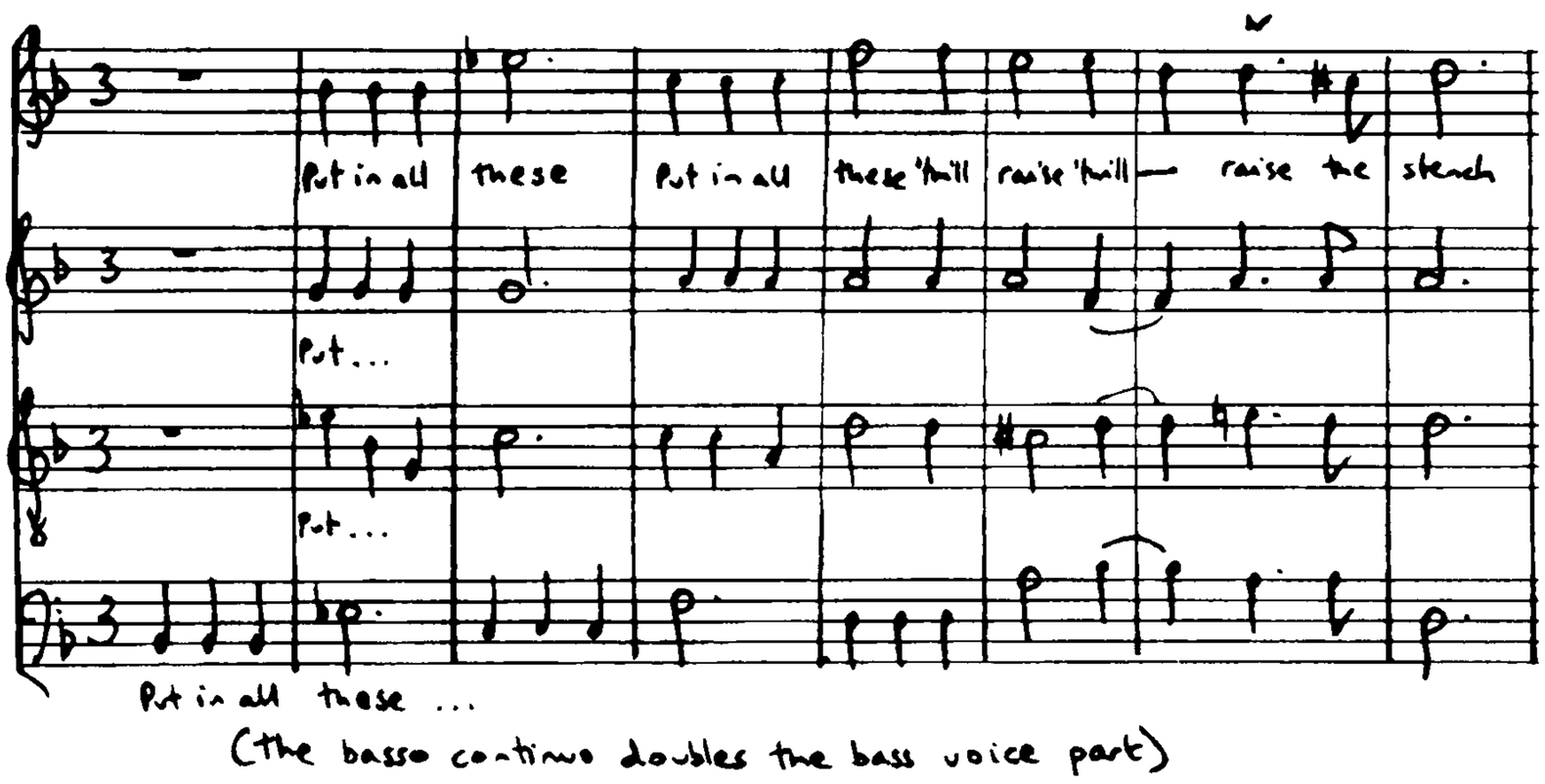
Ex. 4f: 'Speak sister speak', Ckc: MS 213.

Voice designations, and the placing of the 'Locke' witches' dance are subject to alteration, and occasionally whole short sections have been changed. Perhaps the most significant of these concerns the setting of 'Put in all these'. In Cfm: MS 87 we find:



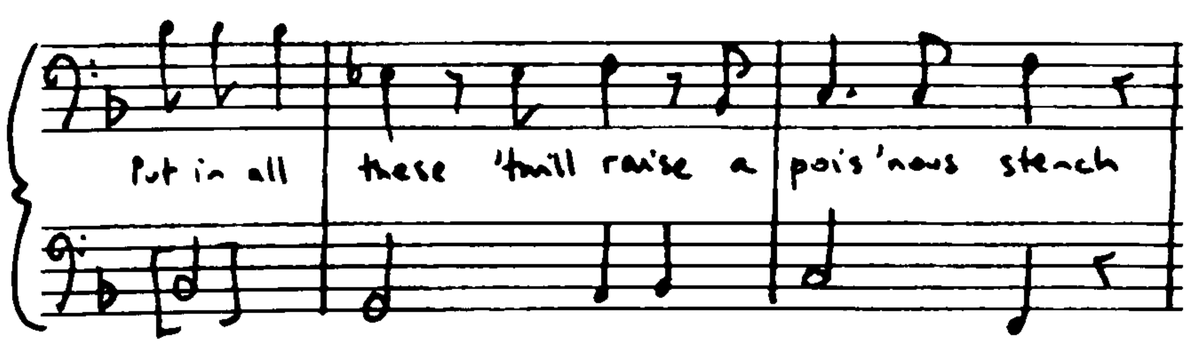
Ex. 5a: 'Put in all these', Cfm: MS 87.

In Ws: w.b.537 this has been replaced by:



Ex. 5b: 'Put in all these', Ws: w.b.537.

In later sources, however (see for example Ws: w.b.540), there is a much simpler version, sung by a solo voice:



Ex. 6: 'Put in all these', Ws: w.b.540.[34]

Alterations to the text are less substantial. There are just two important changes. One is the addition of a few lines to the first witch scene. The musical sources originating after Ws: w.b.537 (for dating of which see below) include as additional stanzas after 'What then, when monarchs perish, should we do?', the lines:

[2] When lightning and dread thunder
Rend stubborn rocks asunder
And fill the world with wonder

What should we do?
Rejoice etc.

[3] When winds and waves are warring
Earthquakes the mountains tearing
And monarchs die despairing
What should we do?
Rejoice etc.

The second difference is in the third-act witches' scene. In Cfm: MS 87 and Ws: w.b.537 Hecate has the lines:

Hark, hark I'm called, My little spirit see
Sits in a foggy cloud and waits for me…

and

I come, I come, with all the speed I may.

Later sources have:

Hark, hark, I'm call'd
My little merry airy spirit see
Sits in a foggy cloud and waits for me…

and

Thy chirping voice I hear, so pleasing to my ear,
At which I post away with all the speed I may.

Textual changes to musical numbers were always slow to reach printed copies of plays. Thus the 1674 text of *Macbeth* continued to be printed for many years, despite the changes made by Eccles and Leveridge. Indeed, the first new acting edition of *Macbeth* did not appear until the Bell printing of 1773. However, in 1734 J. Tonson published an edition of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* 'To which are added, All the ORIGINAL SONGS. Never Printed in any of the former Editions'. The main body of the publication is the First Folio text, as opposed to Davenant's alteration which was playing at the theatres. However, at the end there are three pages giving the complete lyrics for the three musical scenes. For the first time we have in print the words as set by Leveridge, including the extra stanzas and other changes noted above.

The Bell 1773 edition supposedly presents Garrick's restored version of Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, which had by then been playing for some thirty years. The words of the songs given here are the same as in the 1734 Tonson edition. One major difference, however, is the omission of the third witches' scene. This is puzzling, as none of the musical sources reflects this cut. Also there is, at the Folger Shakespeare Library, a promptbook believed to have been used by Garrick in the 1770s, which clearly indicates that this scene was sung.[35]

The only other different acting edition of *Macbeth* from the eighteenth century is that published by C. Lowndes in 1794. This reflects Kemble's version of the play, and contains a number of minor revisions to the witches' lyrics. However, I have found none of these changes in any of the extant musical sources, and am inclined to doubt whether they were ever introduced.

Leveridge's *Macbeth* music was first published, complete, by John Johnson in 1770, in an edition prepared by William Boyce. Prior to that just the song 'Let's have a dance' had appeared in print, around 1750, in a number of single sheet songs entitled: 'The Witches Song in the Tragedy of Macbeth. Sung by M^{rs} Clive'. However, Leveridge's music also survives in a large number of eighteenth-century manuscripts. By considering the musical and textual differences it is possible to place these into three distinct groups:

a) i)

Cfm: MS 87

|

α

|

BL: Egerton 2957

|

Boyce 1770*

Ws: w.b.536 — Ws: w.a.222-7 +

Wc: M 1510 P98 T29

ii) Ckc: MS 213 Lcm: MS 2232

b)

Ws: w.b.537

|

Lcm 5220 (* + 2 dances from Boyce)

c) i)

BL: RM 21 c 42 ---- RM 21 c 43

|

Bp: G.4060.13

ii) Ws: w.b.540

iii) Ws: w.b.529

The manuscripts in group a) i) all derive from the earliest source, Cfm: MS 87. The nature of some of the errors and corrections in BL: Egerton 2957, another early eighteenth-century manuscript, suggest that it is an indirect copy of Cfm: MS 87. The source of Egerton 2957 would seem to be a lost corrected copy of Cfm: Ms 87, made by a musically literate scribe, and that new errors crept in because the copyist of Egerton 2957 was unable to read music. Egerton 2957 was the source of Boyce's edition of 1770, with the exception of two additional dances, which will be discussed below. In turn, the Boyce edition served as the basis for Ws: w.b.536 and w.a.222-7. The former is a short score, dated by the Folger Library as *c*1790, the latter a set of partbooks copied out for use by the Music Room, Oxford, around 1785 [Folger dating]. The companion full score to these parts is held at the Library of Congress (M 1510 P98 T29).

The two remaining manuscripts, Ckc: MS 213 and Lcm: MS 2232, are more difficult to place, and I have put them into this group rather tentatively. Harding suggests that Lcm: MS 2232 is an early nineteenth-century copy, and that Ckc: MS 213 is probably from the mid-eighteenth century.[36] Both contain textual variants that would place them in group c), but have musical variants (notably 'put in all these') which link them with group a). However, there are enormous differences between the two manuscripts. Ckc: MS 213 is a particularly puzzling source. In it everything has been reduced to two staves, with the upper part written throughout in the tenor (C_4) clef. The text in Ckc: MS 213 (both music and words) is also somewhat corrupt. For example, 'Black spirits and white' opens with the rhythm ♩ ♫ ♩ ♪ rather than ♩ ♬ ♪ , distorting the accentuation of the words. Another example concerns some words in the second musical scene, which now read:

> To laugh to dance to sing to toy and play,
> Over rocks and flinty mountains,
> Over hills and christal fountains.

rather than:

> To sing, to dance, to toy and kiss
> Over Woods, high Rocks, and Mountains,
> Over Steeples, Tow'rs and Turrets.

Of all the manuscripts in group a) only Cfm: MS 87 was clearly used in the theatre. Lcm: MS 2232 has cues before some of its musical numbers which, at first glance, seem to suggest theatrical use. However, all of these cues are taken from the First Folio text, rather than from any eighteenth-century acting edition.

Group b) is headed by another important theatre manuscript, Ws: w.b.537. This source contains two layers of singers' names. The first includes just the names Renton and Willis. Both singers are listed for a performance of *Macbeth* at Drury Lane on 18 June 1714.[37] However, the two were also part of the Drury Lane troupe a year earlier, when an advertisement (for 5 June 1714) mentions Renton 'and others' but not specifically Willis.[38] This would seem to indicate that w.b.537 reflects the state of Leveridge's music as performed at Drury Lane around 1714 to 1715. Later names include: Ray, Chambers, Nic[hols], Ex[c]ell, Jones and Monlass. All of these singers were associated with the Goodman's Fields theatre in 1734. Thus it seems probable that this manuscript was either transferred from Drury Lane to Goodman's Fields, or copied from one at Drury Lane for use at Goodman's Fields. Lcm: MS 5220, the other manuscript in this group, is a post-1770, non-theatrical score copied from w.b.537 by a musically adept scribe. As noted in the diagram above, Lcm: MS 5220 contains the two additional dances included in Boyce's 1770 edition. It is the only manuscript to do so.

Group c) represents the latest and yet most disparate group. Unlike the manuscripts in groups a) i) and b), all those in group c) contain the lyrics as present in the Tonson 1734 *Macbeth* edition described above. They also contain the third musical variant, for solo voice, of 'put in all these'. Beyond that, most of them are not related. They are all rather late sources, and none includes singers' names to associate it with a specific theatre at a particular time. Bp: G.4060.13 is a direct

copy of BL: RM 21 c 42. Both include specifications for wind instruments, as well as the usual strings and continuo; RM 21 c 43 comprises six partbooks copied by E. R. Simpson, and derived from RM 21 c 42. Ws: w.b.540 is a neat copy of Leveridge's music made by John Saville, a lay vicar of Lichfield. It is dated by the Folger Library *c*1750, though this seems a little early to me. (Saville was a vicar choral at Lichfield from 1755 until his death in 1803.[39]) The final manuscript in this group, w.b.529, is dated by the Folger Library *c*1790; the music has been reduced to two staves throughout. Interestingly, however, this manuscript has the fullest cues of all the Leveridge manuscripts, including the remark 'she starts!' at 'Hold! here's 3 ounces of a red-hair'd wench'. Whilst the copyist of this manuscript, or an early owner, was certainly concerned with the theatrical context of the music, it is notable that the cues are taken from the 1674 Davenant text, and not from the later Garrick or Kemble acting editions.

I have made no mention so far of what was, for many years, the most vexed question concerning Leveridge's music - its authorship. When Boyce came to publish the so-called 'famous' music in 1770, its composer had long since been forgotten. By then, although newspaper advertisements had continuously mentioned music and singers, it had been over fifty years since the composer had been named. Boyce, in his publication, credited the music to Locke, a claim then echoed in the newspapers and in some of the later manuscripts. Yet two years earlier the words had been printed 'as...performed by the Academy of Ancient Music', and the music attributed to Purcell.[40] Already in the late eighteenth century, and particularly in the nineteenth, scholars argued about the authorship of this music. Locke emerged the favourite and, consequently, the music is now invariably found catalogued in libraries under Matthew Locke's name.

There is no doubt that the 'famous' music is by Leveridge, and not by Locke or even Purcell. The evidence is overwhelming. The first indication we have of Leveridge's involvement with *Macbeth* is in newspaper advertisements. For the performance of *Macbeth* at Drury Lane on 21 November 1702 we learn: 'Vocal and Instrumental [Music], all new Compos'd by Mr. Leveridge, and perform'd by him and others'.[41] Secondly, Cfm: MS 87, the earliest score, originates from the first decade of the eighteenth century. It clearly attributes the work to Leveridge, whilst also naming him amongst the singers. Finally, Leveridge is named as the composer of the *Macbeth* music in the Tonson 1734 edition of the play (discussed above).

If the evidence is so clear, why did Boyce misattribute Leveridge's music? As has already been noted, Cfm: MS 87 is the only manuscript to contain an attribution to Leveridge. One might have expected Egerton 2957, which was indirectly copied from Cfm: MS 87, to have carried Leveridge's name. Roger Fiske noted that Egerton 2957 in fact has a rectangle cut out of its opening folio, and also lacks the first page of music, both of which may have contained such an attribution.[42] He suggested that this excision may have been done deliberately, by whoever sold the manuscript to Boyce: 'The score would have been much more valuable if Locke or Purcell had written it rather than Leveridge, and though I would not dream of accusing Boyce of barbarous conduct, I should have no scruples about accusing whosoever it was who sold him the manuscript'.[43] Nevertheless, no other composer-attribution is given. It seems that Boyce was aware of Downes's remark concerning

Locke's *Macbeth* contribution, but unaware of early newspaper advertisements, or of any editions of the play stemming from that issued by Tonson in 1734.

The publication of Boyce's edition of the 'famous' music naturally led to the widespread belief that it was by Locke. Later publications, based on Boyce, perpetuated the misattribution, and by 1776 newspaper advertisements echoed the claim. Scholars, however, had already come to question the authorship of the music, with a number arguing for Henry Purcell as the likely composer; hence that attribution in 1768 by the Academy of Ancient Music, noted above.[44] It was only in 1961, in an article by Robert Moore, that Leveridge's authorship was finally properly championed.[45] Whilst there is no need to detail the numerous arguments put forward concerning the composer of the 'famous' music, it is worth noting that there were a number of basic misconceptions which were common to many of the articles written on the subject. First, the music was believed to have originated in the 1670s. Hence, it was argued, Leveridge could not have composed the music as he would have been a mere toddler then. Secondly, it was not uncommonly held that if a piece of music was any good it had to be by Purcell. Thirdly, it was thought that Egerton 2957 was a Purcell autograph: it was suggested that the hand of the copyist bore a youthful similarity to Purcell's mature hand (since he would have been only fourteen years old when the music was composed) and that the copyist's mistakes were, in fact, signs of Purcell's juvenile harmonic inexpertise. Fourthly, it was believed that Boyce's edition, which is not dated, was published in 1750, when Leveridge was still alive and could have challenged the attribution.[46] Finally, there was an unwillingness to accept the authority of early eighteenth-century advertisements.

Before leaving the 'famous' music it is worth considering its reception. That it was first replaced only in 1875 is itself testimony to the music's success.[47] However, there are also a few contemporary comments on the impact of the witches and their music. Francis Gentleman, writing in 1770, stated:

> Introducing the witches at the end of the second act is a very seasonable relief to a feeling mind, from the painful weight of horror which some of the preceding scenes must have laid upon it; and, in suitable music, they continue the story predictively as a kind of chorus; their rejoicing in the mischief already done, and that which yet lies in the womb of time, shews a disposition worthy such agents as the subordinate fiends of darkness.[48]

He also commented:

> That remarkable incantation which begins the fourth act; the mysterious ceremony practised; the emblematic ingredients collected for enchantment, and the arrangement of them, shew a more peculiar luxuriance of fancy than any other author ever compacted into such narrow bounds; the music also, as in the former scenes, has a very just and pleasing effect.[49]

Charles Burney described the music as of 'rude and wild excellence',[50] whereas Thomas Davies enthused:

> It must be confessed the songs of Hecate, and the other witches, have a solemn adaptation to the beings for whom they were composed. Dances of tunes were invented for the incantation scene in the fourth act, and near fifty years since I saw our best dancers employed in the exhibition of infernal spirits.[51]

Details of what the witches wore, as well as of their effect, are provided by W. C. Oulton. Describing Kemble's production of *Macbeth* on 21 April 1794, at the opening of the newly-built Drury Lane Theatre, he revealed:

> The first dramatic exhibition was *Macbeth*, which, though one of SHAKSPEARE'S well known plays, was now attended with much novelty, owing to some very material alterations; the scenes were all new, and the witches no longer wore mittens, plaited caps, laced aprons, red stomachers, ruffs, &c. (which was the dress of those *weird Sisters*, when Mess. BEARD, CHAMPNESS, &c. represented them with GARRICK'S *Macbeth*) or any human garb, but appeared as preternatural beings, distinguishable only by the fellness of their purposes, and the fatality of their delusions. *Hecate*'s companion spirit descended on the cloud, and rose again with him. In the Cauldron Scene, new groups were introduced to personify the black spirits and white, blue spirits and grey. The evil spirits had serpents writhing round them, which had a striking effect. The present attempt of the managers of Drury-lane was to strike the eye with a picture of supernatural power, by such appropriate vestures, as marked neither mortal grandeur nor earthly insignificance; and likewise to avoid all buffoonery in those parts, that *Macbeth* might no longer be deemed a *Tragi-Comedy*.[52]

James Boaden also remarked on this production:

> There were sundry other novelties, perhaps revivals, as to the witches and their incantations; indeed the noble firmness and compactness of the action was dreadfully broken and attenuated by the vast crowds of witches and spirits that filled the stage, and thundered in the ear a music of dire potency. The auxiliary injured the principal, and Matthew Locke [= Leveridge] became the rival of his master. Mere speech, however masterly, is weak upon the ear after the noise (call it harmony if you will) of a full orchestra, and perhaps fifty voices, with difficulty kept together in tolerable time and tune. But with great readiness I submit to that public decision, which has declared this play, so *furnished*, the most attractive of all dramatic representations.[53]

Boaden commented on two earlier performances of *Macbeth*. He described one around 1788:

> The music of Matthew Locke [= Leveridge] in this tragedy has crowded the stage with people to sing it; and in the crowd beauty, formerly and since, forced its way into notice. The Witch of the lovely Crouch wore a fancy hat, powdered hair, rouge, point lace, and fine linen enough to enchant the spectator. Perhaps in her vindication it may be allowed, that in so enormous a rabble, one invariable squalidness of attire would be merely disgusting. Among the mingling black, white, red, and grey spirits some may be imagined fantastic enough to assume the garb of beauty, as in all probability may not possess the features ... The group did not

> consist entirely of witches - spirits of the four elements mingled in the incantations.[54]

Discussing a production of three years earlier, however, he was more critical:

> Old Bannister sang the Hecate in the best style, and the George, and the Phillips, and the Wrighten, at the head of the chorus of witches, gave the usual quantity of personal and vocal charms, in aid of those of the blacker spirits of the night. Linley had taken great care of the music, and it had, perhaps, on the whole, never produccd [*sic*] equal delight. But matchless as it is, *per se*, it brings this mighty tragedy too near the character of opera, and the time occupied by the choruses breaks in dreadfully upon the progression of the interest. Besides, too, that such an undisciplined mass of all ages, and of both sexes, as now occupies the stage, is unavoidably the most opposite thing in the world to the severe character of the play. Although I feel the advantage of spectacle, and, indeed, its absolute necessity to the modern stage, I yet am obliged to say, that candidly reviewing the additions made to the plays of Shakspeare, I know of nothing at all worthy to be connected with the composition.[55]

Several things emerge from these comments. One is that by the end of the century a large number of singing and dancing witches were employed in representations of *Macbeth*. This is supported by references in advertisements and playbills. For example, the advertisement for the performance of *Macbeth* at Covent Garden on 15 December 1798 lists thirty-two singers,[56] as compared with ten for a performance at that same theatre on 20 October 1736.[57] A second point is that the addition of music, and other spectacle, had transformed the perception of the witches from rather sinister to somewhat comic characters. Thirdly, Leveridge's music was not left untouched by later composers. Boaden's reference to [Thomas] Linley [Senior] as 'having taken great care of the music' is somewhat unclear. However, the prompter William Hopkins, writing about the production of *Macbeth* at Drury Lane on 25 November 1776, noted that Linley supplied 'additional accompaniments'.[58] One can only surmise that the involvement of a bigger chorus necessitated the use of a larger orchestra, employing wind as well as string instruments. However, the only surviving manuscripts which indicate wind instruments (BL: RM 21 c 42 and Bp: G.4060.13) do not contain independent parts for them; the wind instruments merely double existing lines. I wonder whether Linley's contribution was simply as an orchestrator. He is not, however, the only composer mentioned in advertisements. For Kemble's production of *Macbeth* at Drury Lane on, for example, 21 April 1794 and 18 September 1798, his name is mentioned in conjunction with that of Thomas Arne.[59] Quite what Arne's contribution was, however, remains unclear.[60]

As already noted, Leveridge's music seems to have accompanied virtually all London *Macbeth* performances in the eighteenth century. Although not replaced by other music during this period, it was often supplemented by additional pieces. Leveridge's setting is, after all, arguably incomplete. As well as singing, Davenant's play calls for two dances, neither of which is specifically supplied by Leveridge. One of these is required towards the end of the second act, after the witches have first sung. Cfm: MS 87 supplies a dance, though before the lines 'At the night raven's dismal

voice', which comes a few lines sooner than one would expect. The tune given is the witches' dance mentioned earlier, and believed to have been composed by Matthew Locke. Not surprisingly, this dance is also present, in the same place, in Egerton 2957. When Boyce prepared his *Macbeth* edition, however, he omitted it, possibly because only a single line is provided, and because of its rather cramped insertion at the bottom of a page in the Egerton manuscript.

In Ws: w.b.537, our second-earliest score, Locke's dance is not present. Nonetheless, the word 'Dance' is written at the foot of page 17, after the appropriate (and now correct) cue: 'both courage and safety too'. It is probable that Locke's music was still used. This is supported by the fact that Locke's composition re-appears in later manuscripts (that is, those in groups a)ii) and c)). In these later scores the dance is now at the end of the fourth-act witches' scene rather than earlier. The reason for this is that Garrick, in restoring Shakespeare's text, removed the dialogue between the witches and the Macduffs at the end of the second act. Thus there was no longer the need for a separate dance at this point.[61] Of course, the witches still had to dance in this scene, since they sing the words 'Now let's dance', 'Agreed'. However, I believe that they simply danced to the song 'Let's have a dance upon the heath'.

The second dance that is called for occurs in the fourth act, where the witches dance and vanish after showing Macbeth the various apparitions. The earliest manuscripts fail to supply a dance, or indeed a cue for one. There are various possible reasons for this. The witches may not have danced; they may have danced to the final chorus; they may have used a composition by another composer; or they may have danced silently - which would have produced an appropriately eerie effect after so much singing.[62] The later manuscripts, as just noted, suggest that Locke's dance was used at this point. It is possible, nevertheless, that other dances may have been substituted. For example, Boyce printed a 'Furies Dance' and a 'Witches Dance' in his 1770 *Macbeth* edition. What their origin is, and whether they were actually used on the stage, remains unclear. Apart from Lcm: MS 5220, they are found only in Boyce's edition. Gooch and Thatcher observe that in Garrick's version of *Macbeth* the fourth-act dance is assigned to Furies, rather than witches, and that, from the 1750s on, there are a number of newspaper references to a fourth-act dance of Furies.[63] Whilst it is possible that Boyce's 'Furies Dance' was indeed used on the stage, it is equally feasible that these Furies simply danced to Locke's music. What is particularly puzzling about the Boyce edition is the presence of a witches' dance as well as the Furies' dance. One of these seems superfluous.

Other instrumental music added to *Macbeth* during the eighteenth century includes two sets of Scottish airs, compiled by James Oswald and Samuel Arnold. Oswald's tunes are to be found in the second volume of his collection *The Caledonian Pocket Companion* [1745?], on pages 4 to 8. The music is announced: 'The following 10 airs are Scene Tunes for the Tragedy of MACBETH all composed by M^{r} Oswald except y^{e} first'. Each tune has a title:

[1] Lady M^{c}Duffs Lament and Scoon House
[2] Lady Macbeth's Dream
[3] The Banks of Tay
[4] Strily Vale
[5] Banquo's Ghost

[6] Hamilton House
[7] The Bres of Birnam
[8] The Bres of Ewes
[9] Scoon House
[10] Eske Side

The melodies are all rather straightforward binary tunes in the keys of G, D and A major. Although there is some contrast of tempo, the airs are written in a similar, folk-like idiom, all noticeably employing dotted rhythms. Some include the Scotch snap, which Oswald helped popularise in England. No accompaniment is supplied. Oswald moved to London from Scotland in 1741, and occasionally played at Drury Lane in the early 1740s.[64] It is possible that his music was introduced into *Macbeth* performances at Drury Lane around this time, perhaps for Garrick's revival in January 1744. However, there is no supporting evidence (such as comments in newspaper advertisements) to back this hypothesis.

Samuel Arnold's 'Favourite Scotch Airs' were written a good thirty years after Oswald's tunes. They were published 'As they are PERFORM'D in the TRAGEDY of MACBETH at the Theatre Royal IN THE HAYMARKET'.[65] *Macbeth* was only performed twice at the Haymarket theatre during the eighteenth century, on 7 and 9 September 1778.[66] There is no reason to doubt the publisher's claim that these compositions were performed then, though the newspaper advertisements refer only to 'the original musick composed by Matthew Locke'.[67]

Arnold's work comprises seven separate pieces, several of which are traditional tunes:

[1] March for Macbeth
[2] Macbeth Music before the Play: Berks of Endermay
[3] The Yellow Hair'd Laddie
[4] End of 2^{d} Act: The Breas of Balandine
[5] End of the 3^{d} Act: Lohaber
[6] Earl Douglas' Lamentation
[7] Menuetto to be play'd at the Banquet

In contrast to Oswald's tunes these are all fully orchestrated, employing side drum, trumpets (2), horns (2 - in D and Bb), oboes (2), flute, bassoon, strings and continuo.

As well as instrumental music songs were also sometimes added to performances of *Macbeth*. In the *Monthly Masks of Vocal Music* for February 1704 there is a piece by Daniel Purcell entitled 'A song sung by Mr Mason in Magbeth'. It is a rather florid composition, with plenty of word-painting, set above a ground bass. The text is as follows:

Cease gentle swain thy am'rous suit forbear,
Cease in soft sounds to break the trembling aire.
Thy moveing numbers all my soul inspire
Each gentle spirit fans the rageing fire
By such sweet harmony w're soon betray'd
To shew y^{e} weakness of some yielding maid,
Musick such melting joyes imparts,
It gains y^{e} speediest passage to our hearts.

At first sight it may appear that there is no obvious place for this song within the play. Yet I believe there is one entirely appropriate position for it, and that is at the end of the first act. This act

concludes with the Macbeths entertaining King Duncan. Macbeth has had his doubts about murdering Duncan, but has just been fired up by his wife. As they leave to rejoin the entertainments Macbeth states:

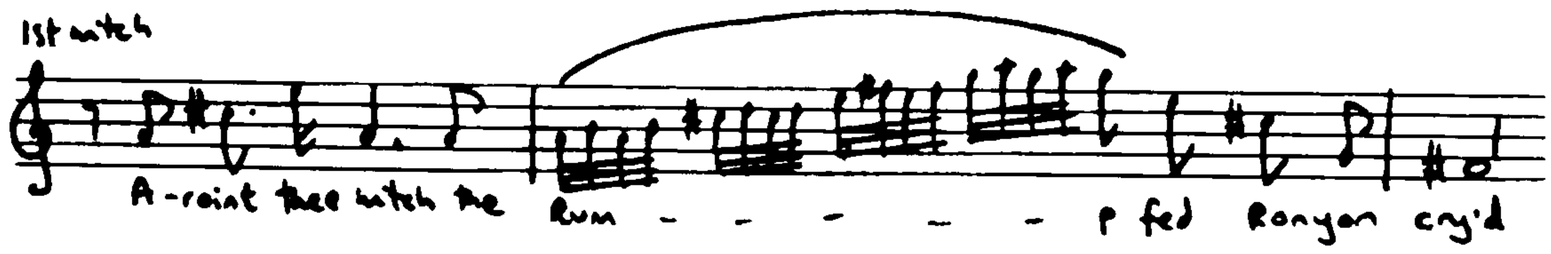
> Come, let's delude the time with fairest show,
> Fain'd looks must hide what the false heart does know.

In this context this straightforward love song accrues some sinister interpretations. The 'rageing fire', for instance, becomes that of hatred not love, and so on.

Finally, there remains for consideration some music by J. A. Fisher. This is a substantial musical setting (56 oblong folios of autograph score), composed in 1780, of two witch scenes not previously set to music: I i 1-12, and I iii 1-37 and 48-50.[68] Paul F. Rice states that the two scenes were written for different purposes.[69] He argues that the first scene was composed for a concert performance, whereas the second was intended for stage use. He suggests that the first received its première, as part of an entertainment entitled *A Fete Anticipated*, at Covent Garden on 10 April 1780. He further surmises that the (presumed) success of this piece inspired Fisher to set the following witch scene for theatrical use, but that the untimely death of his wife (on 7 May 1780) made him lose interest in the project.

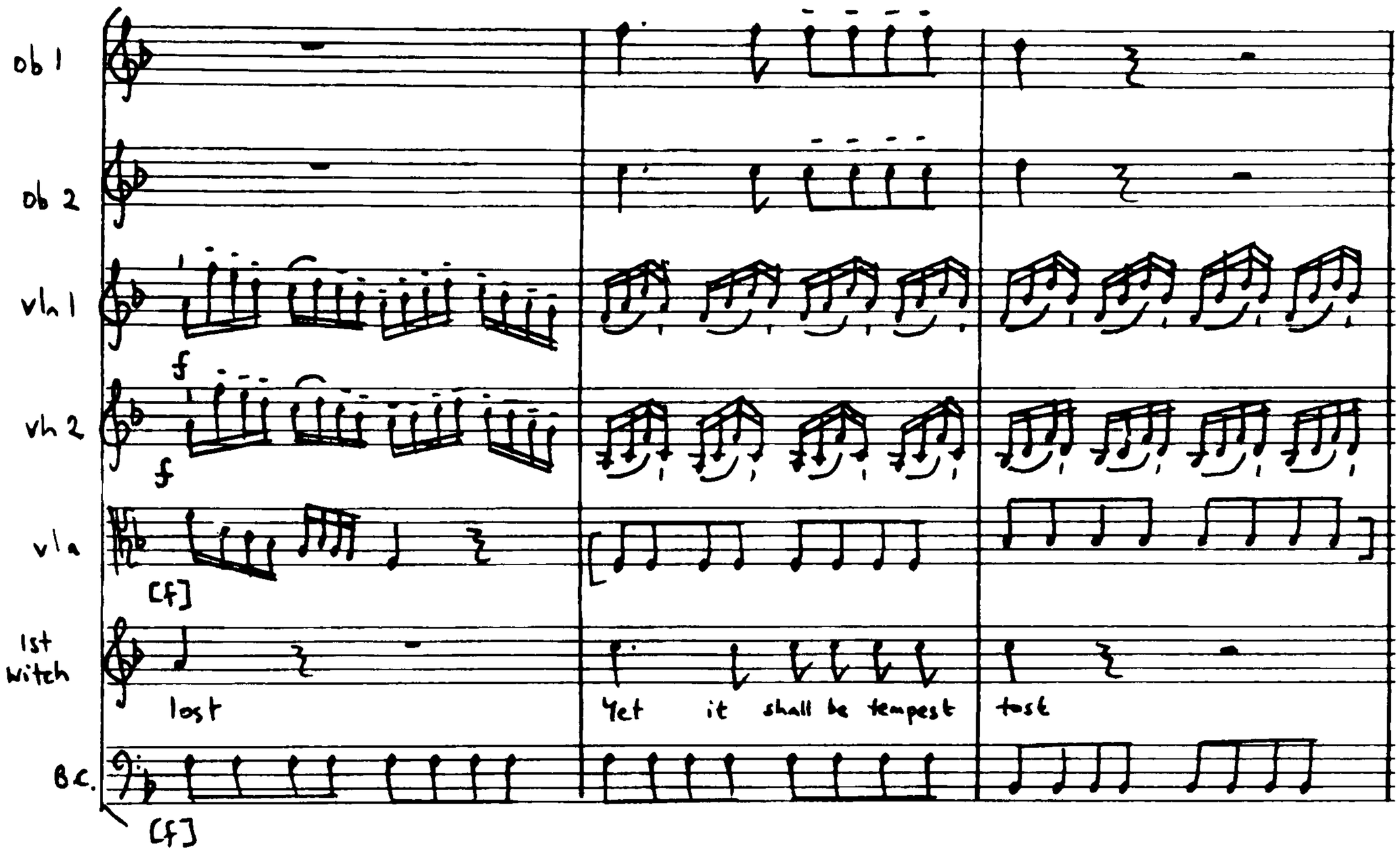
Rice's reasons for asserting that 'When shall we three meet again' was intended for concert performance are: i) the lack of stage directions; ii) limited characterisation of the witches as compared with the following scene; and iii) the extensive repetition of the final two lines of text. I believe Rice is mistaken in making this distinction between the two scenes. The first does contain stage directions. On the title-page we read: 'There must be more than 3 Witches on the Stage in the first Scene, altho they are not to be used till they break into the chorus' and on the opening folio: 'The curtain rises slowly, till the symphony is played'. If the second scene contains more instructions it is because it is a longer scene and demands it. Differences in the way the witches' words are set seem, to me, to be dictated more by their original context, and a desire for contrast, than by a conscious attempt to provide more 'characterisation' of the witches for a stage setting than for a concert performance. And the repetition of the final lines of the opening scene is just a means of adding substance to an otherwise rather short musical episode. Whether or not Fisher's *Macbeth* music was intended to accompany a stage performance of the play is difficult to judge. However, I believe that both scenes were destined for the same end. Added to the Leveridge music (which they complement rather than replace) they would have contributed to a very long evening.

The music itself is carefully, and fully, scored for 2 horns, 2 oboes, bassoons, strings and continuo. The three witches are assigned to soprano, tenor and bass soloists, and a chorus of sixteen singers is requested: 'there should be 4 Soprano Voices, 4 Counter Tenors, 4 Tenors and 4 strong Basses to make the Chorus have its proper Effect'.[70] The words are mostly set syllabically, with the curious exception of the word 'rump':



Ex. 7: J. A. Fisher, music for *Macbeth* I iii bars 28-30.

On the whole the vocal parts are rather straightforward, with the orchestra carrying most of the limited word painting. For example:



Ex. 8: J. A. Fisher, music for *Macbeth* I iii bars 64-66.

The harmonic language is not complicated, and although each scene is through-composed there are carefully planned changes of texture, rhythm and key to help maintain the dramatic interest. Fisher's setting may not be of outstanding musical merit, but it seems comparable to other popular dramatic music of the time.

Othello

Othello was performed some 441 times in London during the eighteenth century, making it the fifth most popular of Shakespeare's plays.[1] The work has several musical requirements, which are of varying dramatic significance. Not surprisingly, there are a number of cues for trumpet calls. Instrumental music, specifically wind music, is also required at the start of the third act. The opening scene of this act is a comic, if rather trivial one, involving Cassio, musicians and a clown.

Songs are required in the second and fourth acts of the play. In the third scene of the second act Iago leads the two songs 'And let me the canakin clink' and 'King Stephen was and a worthy peer'. This is a scene in which Iago gets Cassio drunk so that he will later disgrace himself. The songs are of dramatic importance both as a sign, albeit false, of relaxed merriment and camaraderie, and also as a means of coercing Cassio into staying and drinking more than he ought. This scene is critical in precipitating Cassio's downfall and, ultimately, Desdemona's death.

At the end of the fourth act we have the famous 'willow' song. The manner in which this is used is reminiscent of Ophelia's mad songs in *Hamlet*. False love, the powerlessness of the innocent young female victims, and the inevitability of death, are strong parallels. As in *Hamlet*, Desdemona sings an old tune, remembered from safer childhood days. The song is sung in a distracted manner, evoking our pity by heightening our sense of, and drawing us into, the singer's emotional anguish. We then experience a moment of exquisite poignancy when, in the following act, the dying Emilia, having at last realised her unwitting role in her evil husband's plots, gasps a few words of the song.[2]

It is hardly surprising that no music specifically written for this play can be identified for the trumpet calls or the instrumental music at the start of the third act. Likewise, no eighteenth-century versions of Iago's songs have survived. This is more surprising since Iago's songs are relatively substantial: 'And let me the canakin clink' has five lines, while 'King Stephen' has two stanzas, each of four lines. Naturally, this rather spontaneous drunken singing would be both unaccompanied and possibly deliberately out of tune and time. Yet since these are not just isolated lines, one might expect recognisable tunes. Both songs are old ballads, which were presumably quite well known in Shakespeare's time.[3]

Desdemona's song, also spontaneous and unaccompanied, is another old ballad. In this case late sixteenth-century versions of the song do exist, and there is a setting by Pelham Humfrey dating from the second half of the seventeenth century.[4] As with Ophelia's songs, one might expect a traditional version of the Willow Song to have been sung during eighteenth-century performances. However, there are no eighteenth-century copies of earlier settings. In fact, the only surviving eighteenth-century setting of the song is a newly composed one by James Hook, printed at the end of the century.[5] That neither a traditional setting, nor that by Hook, was particularly well known at the end of the century is clear from a comment by William Linley in the introduction to his *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* [1816]: 'The author found considerable difficulty in fancying a tune to correspond with the words. He is rather fearful that what he has, at length, fixed upon, will be considered rather

more original than immediately striking, though he trusts the sentiment at least of the poetry, will be expressed in the music'.[6] Linley would not have composed a setting had one been in popular use.

The Hook setting deserves a little attention. The sheet song is headed: 'THE WILLOW, A Favorite Air, Sung with unbounded Applause at the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, by M^RS. JORDAN. and Accompanied by herself on the Lute. Composed by M^r. Hook.' There are two curious things about this song. One is that it does not make dramatic sense for Desdemona to accompany herself on the lute. (This point is made also by Sternfeld with regard to the earliest settings of the text.[7]) Secondly, although Mrs Jordan is known to have been a very effective Ophelia, there are no records of her ever having played the role of Desdemona. This suggests that the song was sung at the Drury Lane Theatre as an art-song in its own right, quite separate from the play. Even so, there are no references to it in *The London Stage*, which leads one to suspect that the claim 'Sung with unbounded Applause' is an exaggeration.

Othello seems to have been performed virtually unchanged from the original throughout the eighteenth century. This perhaps explains why the earliest acting edition, by T. Witford, was not printed in London until as late as 1755.[8] All later acting texts are virtually the same as the Witford edition.[9] These show that whereas Iago's songs were retained (although later prints indicate that only one stanza of 'King Stephen' was sung), the opening scene of the third act was cut. Rather more surprisingly, however, Desdemona's song also was cut - and so, too, was Emilia's brief reference to the song. (A footnote in the Bell edition of 1773 states: 'There are two pages judiciously curtailed from the latter part of this scene.'[10]) Judging from acting editions, the song was omitted from performances of *Othello* well into the nineteenth century. These findings are confirmed in three promptbooks: i) a 1773 Bell edition at the British Library (C.184.f.22 - not in Langhans); ii) a 1755 Witford edition at Birmingham Central Library (S.341.1755); and iii) a 1761 C. Hitch edition at the Folger Shakespeare Library (Prompt Oth. 27).

The excision of Desdemona's Willow Song in performance explains the lack of reference in advertisements either to the song or to a singer. However, one advertisement, for a performance of *Othello* at Goodman's Fields on 6 March 1732 states: 'The Usual Songs by a Person that never appear'd on any stage before.'[11] This is particularly unhelpful as it names neither the singer nor the songs. Mrs Giffard, who played the part of Desdemona, and Rosco, who played Iago, were not new to the stage, which suggests that this must be a reference to songs sung either in the accompanying opera *Flora*, or between the acts of either work.

It is unclear whether Desdemona's song was ever sung during the eighteenth century. A substantial proportion of the actresses who played the part of Desdemona up until 1746 were also fine singers (starting with Mrs Bracegirdle in 1703). One can only surmise that they *may* have sung the Willow Song. However, it should be observed that several of the actresses playing the part of Desdemona from the mid 1760s onwards were noted singers. Also, not surprisingly, many of these actresses took the role of Ophelia in productions of *Hamlet*.

Connected with the willow song is William Shield's song 'Poor Barbara'. This is a setting of the eight lines beginning 'My mother had a maid called Barbara' (IV iii 26-33) which introduce the

willow song. 'Poor Barbara' was sung at the Covent Garden Theatre in 1795 and 1796, but not associated with the play *Othello* in any way. In fact, it was sung after performances of *Bonduca*[12], *The Merry Wives*[13], *Henry IV Part I*[14] and *Romeo and Juliet*.[15]

Gooch and Thatcher list a Comic Medley Overture by Richard Charke as incidental music to a performance of *Othello* at Drury Lane on 13 May 1734.[16] However, there are a number of references to a 'Comic Medley Overture' by Charke in advertisements from 30 March 1734 to 14 January 1736, all in association with different plays.[17] Only one Comic Medley Overture has survived.[18] Rather than eight different overtures to accompany eight different plays, it seems likely that Charke composed just one overture. Thus, although this overture was performed with *Othello* on 13 May 1734, it seems not to have been composed specifically, or even originally, for a performance of that play.

Finally, there remains for consideration some music by the composer John Lenton. This comprises an overture and eight act tunes found in BL: Add MS 24889 and Lcm: MS 1144. The British Library manuscript contains a set of four parts, bound together (starting on folios 6, 29, 54 and 74), all clearly headed 'Overture in the Moor of Venice'. Only the first treble and bass partbooks have survived in Lcm: 1144. The same tunes are all present, though some of the later numbers are in a different order.[19] These partbooks, however, clearly state 'In Venis [bass part Venice] preserv'd'.

Both Neighbarger and Gooch and Thatcher cite these act tunes only with reference to *Othello*, making no mention of the association with *Venice Preserv'd*.[20] Price, however, while acknowledging the different attributions, assigns the music to *Venice Preserv'd*.[21] No reasoning is given for this designation, which is also mentioned in an earlier article of his in *Music and Letters*.[22] To confuse matters, in this same article - with reference to Finger's music for *Wives Victory* - Price states: 'the ascriptions in Add MS 24889 are more trustworthy than those in MS 1144', even though in our case Price has chosen the authority of Lcm: 1144 over Add MS 24889.[23] It is now difficult to judge which copyist was mistaken, or whether, in fact, Lenton's act music was used for performances both of *Othello* and of *Venice Preserv'd*.

When the music was composed remains unclear. Neighbarger suggests that it was written for a 'turn-of-the-century' revival of *Othello*.[24] Gooch and Thatcher, more specifically, suggest it was composed for a production at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 21 May 1703.[25] Both these dates are a little too late. As Price points out, the 2nd tune can be found in *The Compleat Flute Master*, published by Hare and Walsh in 1695, and the 6th tune in *Apollo's Banquet* of 1701.[26] Many of the tunes are also found in two other manuscripts containing late seventeenth-century repertoire.[27] I see no reason to doubt Price's implied dating of these tunes at no later than the mid 1690s.

Romeo and Juliet

Romeo and Juliet had a colourful history in the eighteenth century. In 1750 it was at the centre of the keen rivalry between the two Theatres Royal at Drury Lane and Covent Garden. Although the initial skirmish lasted just a fortnight, the battle continued for many years, with both theatres keeping the play prominent in their repertoires for the remainder of the century. Thus *Romeo and Juliet* became the most frequently performed of all Shakespeare's plays for the second half of the eighteenth century; for the century as a whole, though, the play ranks fourth.[1]

Romeo and Juliet was performed in three distinct versions during the eighteenth century. Initially, Thomas Otway's adaptation, *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, held the stage. Theophilus Cibber's adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet* followed in 1744, after which Garrick's alteration of 1748 became the main acting text of the play until well into the nineteenth century.[2] Before examining these different alterations, however, it is necessary to consider the musical requirements of the original play.

Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* requires music on three occasions.[3] The first is as background music to the Capulet party in the opening act, at which Romeo first encounters Juliet.[4] Although the cue 'Music plays and they dance' only occurs after the lines:

> Come, musicians, play.
> A hall, a hall, give room! And foot it girls![5]

in modern productions music is usually present throughout this scene,[6] though only commanding our particular attention for this dance.

The second occurrence of music is Mercutio's bawdy song in the second act.[7] The six-line verse, beginning 'An old hare hoar', is sung to mock the Nurse, who has come to deliver a message to Romeo. Described in the Arden edition as 'An improvised song',[8] it is clearly meant to be sung unaccompanied and spontaneously.

The final call for music occurs in the fourth act, to announce Paris's arrival.[9] The (presumably) jolly and brash music which is required to accompany the happy groom as he approaches the Capulet house is in stark contrast to the state of shock which is about to grip the household (as they discover Juliet's apparently dead body). The sudden triviality and inappropriateness of the music heightens the pathos of the scene, and serves as a symbol of the obliviousness of the elders of both houses to the needs and turmoil of their children.

Of the three alterations of Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* that were performed in the eighteenth century, Thomas Otway's is furthest from its source. His *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, which was first published in 1680,[10] combines Shakespeare's basic story with that of the historical figure Caius Marius. The action is transferred to Rome, and all the characters have different names, with Marius junior representing Romeo, and Lavinia Juliet. Much new material is added to Shakespeare's play, though whole episodes from the original are also used. The language of the original play, however, has been modernised.

All three of Shakespeare's musical requirements are omitted from Otway's play. The first-act party is no longer necessary as Marius junior and Lavinia (that is, Romeo and Juliet) have already met and fallen in love. (Indeed, Marius senior had sought to establish peace with his enemy, Metellus, by offering his son in marriage to Metellus's daughter, Lavinia! This offer had been refused.) The scene in which the Nurse is mocked is retained, but shortened, missing out the song. Finally, Sylla (that is, Paris) is nowhere near Metellus's house when Lavinia's apparently dead body is discovered. (Since he is a military hero trivial music would, in fact, have been entirely inappropriate for him.)

Otway's play does, however, require music. Since the play is now given a military context there are, not surprisingly, a number of cues for trumpet calls. In addition there is a magical episode calling upon the healing powers of music. In the fourth act of the play the banished Caius Marius (senior) is hiding in the woods when he is visited by Martha, a Syrian Prophetess. She enters to 'Soft Musick' and explains that she will 'relieve thy wearied Eyes with Sleep, / And chear thee in a Dream with promis'd Fate'. She then 'waves her Wand' to conjure up a dance.[11] This curious episode was presumably written to appease the Restoration audience's desire for *divertissements*.

We know of 32 performances of Otway's *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, given between 12 April 1701 and 22 August 1735.[12] For only five of these performances are there any references, in the advertisements, to music. In three of these cases we are merely informed that there was dancing, and the dancers are named.[13] For 10 February 1704 we learn that the dancing at Drury Lane included 'a new chaconne',[14] and for 28 August 1710 at Greenwich the dancing comprised *French Peasant* and *Whimsical Miller, Wife, and Town Miss*.[15] What is unclear in all these instances is whether the dancing referred to occurred *during* the play (that is, at the appropriate place in the fourth act) or merely as entertainments between the acts of the play.[16]

It was a full nine years after the last performance of Otway's *Caius Marius* before a new adaptation of Shakespeare's play was staged. Theophilus Cibber's alteration of *Romeo and Juliet* was performed ten times at the little theatre in the Haymarket between 11 September and 17 December 1744.[17] Cibber himself took the role of Romeo, with his daughter, Jenny, cast as Juliet. The alteration seems to have been well received but, after complaints from the patent theatres, the Licensing Act (of 1737) was invoked and Cibber was forced to abandon his Shakespearean performances.[18]

Cibber's *Romeo and Juliet* is far closer to Shakespeare's play than Otway's *Caius Marius*. Apart from the location and the characters' names all being restored, much of Shakespeare's original language is also reinstated. However, Cibber did also borrow from *Caius Marius*; indeed, several passages are lifted verbatim from Otway's play.[19] Cibber retains none of Shakespeare's cues for music. As in *Caius Marius*, Romeo and Juliet are already known to each other at the start of the play. Once again, the enemies had sought peace by a marriage between their children. This is explained by Old Capulet to Paris at the opening:

> *Montague*, the ancient Enemy of our House,
> Thinking our Power greater, Sir, than his,

> Wish'd his son *Romeo*, and our Daughter, married;
> Which so increas'd the Anger of our Wives,
> (Whose Quarrels we are ever apt to join in)
> The Rage of civil War, broke out more fiercely;
> And may prove fatal to his House or mine.[20]

Thus, there is no need for the lavish party at the end of the first act. Also, as in *Caius Marius*, the scene where the Nurse is mocked is curtailed, and Mercutio's song omitted. Finally, unlike in Otway's play, Paris does arrive at the Capulet house as Juliet's seemingly dead body is discovered. Capulet's words, noting Paris's imminent arrival, are:

> Young *Paris* will be here with Musick strait,
> For so he said he would. I hear him near.[21]

However, no specific cue for music is given. Unlike Otway, Cibber did not introduce any additional music. Also, in none of the advertisements for the performances of this alteration is there mention of any music.

Four years after Cibber's adaptation Garrick launched his version of *Romeo and Juliet*.[22] Garrick's alteration is the closest to Shakespeare's original of the three performed in the eighteenth century. Apart from a number of small excisions, and some rewording, Garrick makes two minor, yet quite significant, departures from Shakespeare's play.[23] The first is that Juliet awakes from her sleeping draught *before* Romeo dies, though after he has taken his poison. The reason for this change is given in the Advertisement to the 1763 edition of the play:

> Bandello, the Italian Novelist, from whom Shakespear has borrow'd the Subject of this Play, has made Juliet to wake in the Tomb before Romeo dies: This Circumstance Shakespear has omitted, not, perhaps, from Judgment, but from reading the Story in the French or English Translation, both which have injudiciously left out this Addition to the Catastrophe.[24]

However, Otway had also included this changed episode in his play, as had Cibber. Indeed, this is one of the places where Cibber lifted Otway's text verbatim. Garrick, needless to say, wrote his own new dialogue.

The second significant change Garrick made concerns Juliet's age. In the original Juliet is not quite 14. Otway has changed this to 16, and Cibber 15. Garrick's Juliet, however, is almost 18. Garrick's conception of Romeo and Juliet as more mature young adults is also evident in a telling change that Garrick made for his revival in 1750. From the Advertisement of the 1750 edition of the play we read:

> When this Play was reviv'd two Winters ago, it was generally thought, that the sudden Change of Romeo's Love from Rosaline to Juliet was a Blemish in his Character, and therefore it is to be hop'd that an Alteration in that Particular will be excus'd; the only Merit that is claim'd from it is, that it is done with as little Injury to the Original as possible.[25]

And so, as in earlier alterations of *Romeo and Juliet*, Romeo is in love with Juliet from the start of the play. This would seem to render the Capulet party scene redundant. However, in order not to depart far from Shakespeare, Garrick's Romeo, although aware of Juliet's Christian name, is unaware that she is a Capulet. Thus the party scene is able to preserve most of its original dramatic function.

Garrick's musical requirements, not surprisingly, are virtually the same as Shakespeare's. Nevertheless, there are two small differences. The first is that, as well as the dance, music is specified for the opening of the Capulet ball.[26] The other difference follows the tradition already established of curtailing the second-act scene in which the Nurse is mocked, thereby omitting Mercutio's song.

Romeo and Juliet was performed 20 times at Drury Lane between 29 November 1748 and 1 April 1749.[27] The following season it was performed six times (between 1 March and 18 April 1750), but at Covent Garden.[28] And then the battle began.

On 28 September 1750 both of the Theatres Royal staged *Romeo and Juliet*.[29] Spranger Barry and Mrs Cibber, who had starred in Garrick's 1748 revival, had now defected to John Rich's company; they led the troupe at Covent Garden.[30] Garrick's response, at Drury Lane, was to cast himself as Romeo, supported by Miss Bellamy as Juliet.[31]

One performance was not enough: night after night the competition raged. It was only after 12 consecutive performances of *Romeo and Juliet*, when Mrs Cibber tired of playing Juliet, that sanity was restored to the theatres. Drury Lane, to assert its superiority, performed for a thirteenth night, and then the London theatre-going public gave a collective sigh of relief as both theatres resumed a more typical varied repertory for the remainder of the season.

Naturally, this extraordinary episode was the talk of the coffee houses, and did not escape comment in the contemporary press. The mood of the town can perhaps be judged from two entries in *The London Magazine* for October 1750:

> *To the* FOOL
>
> *Brother* Fool,
> As the dispute between the houses of Garrick and Rich, now runs as
> high as heretofore did that between the houses of York and
> Lancaster, tho' not quite of so important a nature, or attended with
> consequences quite so fatal; yet, as the publick have thought it
> worth while to make it the chief subject of conversation, I, like
> many more of our family, have visited both camps, and my opinion
> of the matter is, (and they say, children and fools tell truth) that at
> Drury-Lane I saw ROMEO and Juliet, and at Covent-Garden
> JULIET and Romeo.
>
> I am, dear Mr. Fool,
> Yours, etc.
> PLAYLOVE.[32]
>
> *On the Run of* ROMEO *and* JULIET
>
> WELL - what to night? says angry Ned,
> As up from bed he rouses:

> Romeo again! - and shakes his head,
> Ah! Pox on both your houses.[33]

Although writing some 35 years later, Miss Bellamy also comments, in her *Memoirs*, on the war between the houses:

> Both theatres opened this season with "Romeo and Juliet", in which Barry and Cibber in Covent-Garden, were rivalled by Garrick and Miss. B. in Drury-Lane. As Miss. B. one evening repeated the line Romeo, "O why are you Romeo!" a sailor from the upper gallery brayed out in a voice which made all the Theatre ring, "*Because Barry is Romeo in the other house, to be sure*!"
>
> This contest was protracted so long, that the performers and audience were both tired of it. The advantage was, however, obtained by Drury, at last, though not without a great deal of private manoeuvre and public puffing.[34]

Although, as is clear from these quotations, the London public was not prepared to be entertained *solely* by *Romeo and Juliet* the play was, nevertheless, a success. It was staged 16 more times during the 1750-1751 season, and then continued in the repertory, with performances every year until the end of the century.[35] Part of the play's success lay, naturally, in the strength of the actors and actresses who took the principal roles. Some of the success, however, was also due to the use of music and spectacle.

The advertisement in the *General Advertiser* for the performance of *Romeo and Juliet* at Drury Lane on 28 September 1750 states: 'Mainpiece "Reviv'd" with proper Decorations. It is hop'd no Gentleman will take it ill, that they cannot be admitted this Night, upon the Stage, or in the Orchestra, on Account of the SCENERY and MUSIC, that are made Use of in the Play.' This request was repeated in advertisements for the subsequent 12 performances at Drury Lane.

The most obvious place for music and spectacle in *Romeo and Juliet* is the Capulet Ball at the end of the first act. And, indeed, there is evidence to show that some attention was paid to this scene. When Garrick first revived the play on 29 November 1748, for example, the advertisement in the *General Advertiser* stated: 'With a New Masquerade Dance proper to the play by Mr COOKE, Madem. JANNETON, AURETTI etc.' A Masquerade dance was also advertised for Covent Garden's revival on 1 March 1750.[36] Dances were often mentioned in connection with subsequent performances of *Romeo and Juliet*, and the fact that dancing is not always mentioned in advertisements does not preclude the continued prominent use of dancing in this scene.[37] Unfortunately, although principal dancers are often named, and titles of dances are occasionally given, we do not know which music was used for any of these dances.

Two other sources of evidence support the belief that music and spectacle were important in this scene. In 1754 a set of five prints was published, each illustrating a different scene in the play. One of them is labelled 'The Masquerade Scene. Act 1', and is thought to reflect, at least to some extent, what was happening on the stage.[38] Apart from the relatively lavish costumes of the masqueraders, the illustration shows a musicians' gallery on stage, containing at least six musicians.

Their instruments include a trumpet, violin, recorder and a slightly odd-shaped guitar(?) and bass viol(?). The assortment of instruments is a little surprising; one would, for example, have expected more violins. Nevertheless, it is plausible enough that these instruments could have played together, though one suspects a certain amount of artistic licence may have been exercised.

The final piece of evidence occurs in a promptbook, originating from Drury Lane in the second half of the 1770s.[39] 'Music' and 'Maskers etc' are both cued on the page before the Capulet Ball, and at the start of the relevant scene there is the cue 'Orchestra'.[40]

Notwithstanding the importance of the Masquerade scene, the real centre of musical attention and spectacle in performances of *Romeo and Juliet* in the second half of the century was actually an additional scene. It was John Rich, at Covent Garden, who took the initiative here. When the battle between the two theatres began on 28 September 1750 the advertisement in the *General Advertiser* for the performance at Covent Garden revealed: 'An Additional Scene will be introduced, representing The FUNERAL PROCESSION of JULIET, Which will be accompanied by a solemn DIRGE, never performed before, and set to Music by Mr. ARNE.' Occurring between the fourth and fifth acts, this was a clever excuse for a bit of pageantry.

Arne's dirge is a sectionalised piece, using a range of instrumental and vocal colourings.[41] The words he set are as follows:

> Ah, hapless Maid doom'd to the gaping Jaws
> of a cold comfortless and dreary Tomb.
> Thy Marriage Song is chang'd to mournful Dirge
> thy bridal Bed to a black Fun'ral Hearse.
>
> Hark, how with awful Pause the solemn Bell
> in Deathlike Sounds Tolls her untimely Knell.
>
> She was her Parent's sole Delight
> they had but one only Child.
>
> Since Death has torn her from their Arms
> with Grief and Sorrow they are wild.
> Their Grief and Sorrow ev'ry Bosom shares
> witness our Sighs our Groans and falling Tears.

The author of these words is unknown.

Arne's dirge opens with the following instruction: 'At the Beginning of the procession the Trumpetes advance with the Kettle Drums and sound the following Solemn notes between which the Bell tolls, till they are off the stage'. There is the further instruction: '2^{d}. Trumpet and Kettle Drum muffled'. The music in these opening bars is extremely simple, based on a D major triad (though with a low A in the bell), and monotonously repetitive.

The dirge proper opens with a completely contrasting scoring. Treble, tenor and bass voices are accompanied by two mournful flutes in a section in A minor. The flute parts are independent of the voice parts, and the section is unusual in that there is no instrumental bass line. For 'Hark how with awful pause' the chorus and flutes are joined by full four-part strings and, although the part is not figured, one would expect the instrumental bass part to be reinforced by a keyboard instrument. The

bell is also present in this section, which is in the brighter key of A major. A further change of texture occurs at the words 'She was her parent's [*sic*] sole delight' as soloists are contrasted with the full chorus. There is also a change of metre from duple to a more lilting triple time. Finally, there is the instruction to repeat the section 'Hark how with awful pause' 'till all the procession is Over'.

This additional scene by Rich clearly went down very well, since it took a mere three days before Drury Lane retaliated with a dirge composed by William Boyce. Boyce set different words to Arne[42]:

CHORUS

Rise, rise!
Heart-breaking sighs
The woe-fraught bosom swell;
For sighs alone,
And dismal moan,
Should echo Juliet's knell.

AIR

She's gone - the sweetest flow'r of May,
That[43] blooming blest our sight;
Those eyes which shone like breaking day,
Are set in endless night!

CHORUS[44]

Rise, rise! &c.

AIR

She's gone, she's gone[45], nor leaves behind
So fair a form, so pure a mind;
How could'st thou, Death, at once destroy,
The Lover's hope, the Parent's joy?

CHORUS

Rise, Rise! &c.

AIR

Thou spotless soul, look down below,
Our unfeign'd sorrow see;
Oh give us strength to bear our woe,
To bear the loss of thee!

CHORUS

Rise, Rise! &c.

Presumably these words were written by Garrick.

Despite its rapid composition, Boyce's dirge is a fairly substantial piece. It is through-composed but, like Arne's setting, has discrete sections which are differentiated chiefly through the contrast of tutti and solo vocal sections. The autograph manuscript of this dirge indicates that for the solo sections one treble part was sung by 'Mrs Clive & a boy' and another by 'Miss Norris & a boy'.

The tenor soloist was Mr Beard, with Mr Reinhold singing the bass solos. Boyce uses a full four-part chorus, and his orchestra comprises a trumpet, two oboes, four-part strings with continuo and, most importantly, a tolling bell. Also, like Arne, Boyce moves into triple metre towards the end of his setting (at 'Thou spotless soul'). He also has a change of tonality here, moving to F major, though soon returning to A minor for the repeat of the Chorus.

The impact of this additional scene, at both theatres, can be gleaned from a number of contemporary commentaries. Francis Gentleman, writing in 1770, states:

> Though not absolutely essential, nothing could be better devised than a funeral procession, to render this play thoroughly popular; as it is certain, that three-fourths of every audience are more capable of enjoying sound and shew, than solid sense and poetical imagination; stage-pageantry cannot be very pleasing at any time to judicious taste, but, if at all commendable, it is upon this occasion.[46]

Four years later, commenting on the text 'Rise, rise, heart-breaking sighs' in the Bell edition of *Romeo and Juliet*, Gentleman writes:

> The funeral procession and dirge, introduced upon the revival, are a stage mode of striking eyes and ears; in which light, we believe, they have brought a great deal of money; but are by no means agreeable to us. As to the poetry of this bit of sing-song, it is as well as could be expected.[47]

A description of the procession itself is found in a promptbook from Drury Lane in the 1770s.[48] It reveals:

> Procession from the Top OP
> and Exit OP.
> The Bell Tolls 4 times. The chorus begins
> upon the 4th Bell.
> 4 Servants 2 & 2 dress all in Black with
> white Cockades & Tapers.
> 6 Men - two & two in black Cloaks & Tapers
> 2 Boys with Incence Pots
> All the Chorus in Surpluses Two & Two
> those that Sing the Airs first
> Fryar Lawrence alone
> a Lady to lye for Juliet
> The Bier
> 4 Carpenters in Black Cloaks & Caps
> to carry the Bier
> 6 Ladies in White with Baskets Flowr
> to strew
> Paris Chief Mourner alone
> Capulet & Wife Black
> 6 Men in Black Gowns & Tapers
> Enter all two & two & then
> divide on each side the stage.

An interesting description of the funeral scene is given by a German visitor in 1761:

> On the 26th [December 1761] I dined at our Saturday club, and in the evening went to see *Romeo and Juliet*, and an after-piece in two acts with several songs and dances, called *Harlequin Invasion*. In the play an entire funeral procession is represented, with bells tolling, and a choir singing. Juliet, feigning death, lies on a state bed with a splendid canopy over her, guarded by girls who strew flowers, and by torch-bearers with flaming torches. The choristers and clergy in their vestments walk in front, and the father and mother with their friends follow. The scene represents the interior of a church. To my feeling this appears rather profane, but putting this aside, nothing of the kind could be represented more beautifully or naturally. The funeral dirges and the choirs made the whole ceremony too solemn for theatrical representation, especially on the English stage, which has no superior in the world, and on which everything is produced with the highest degree of truth. This effect can be attained more easily here than upon any other stage, owing to the quality of actors, including dancers and singers, of whom fifty are sometimes to be seen on one night, whilst there are probably as many absent, and the quantity of different decorations, machinery, and dresses, which are provided regardless of cost and with thorough completeness.[49]

Not all German visitors, however, were so impressed. Christlob Mylius, writing in 1753, gives this account:

> I went to the theatre in Covent Garden. Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet* was given. This merry tragedy, very faulty both in form and content (though it is seriously considered a real tragedy here), was performed according to its merits. Most of the actors, including Mr Barry and Miss Rossiter, who are supposed to be the best, played with arrogant pomposity. The newly added scene, the burial of Juliet, is stupid and ridiculous. A bell is actually tolled on the stage. The costumes are mediocre and the decorations positively bad...This digusting piece is so well received here that it was had to be performed at least fourteen times [actually ten] in the last four weeks.[50]

Finally, it is worth noting Miss Bellamy's Comments:

> This season [1754-55] at Covent-Garden, promised much success. The theatre opened with Romeo and Juliet. Rich made it his boast, that he had the Juliet now as well as the Romeo. One night Miss B. observed to him with pleasure, that the house was prodigiously crouded; when taking a pinch of snuff, and turning short upon his heel, he replied, "Yes, Mistress, but it is owing to the procession".
>
> Mr Garrick, to check the run of Romeo and Juliet, was at the expence of a new bell; which not availing to the purpose for which it was purchased, he brought forward Venice Preserved, where he and Cibber excelled beyond a possibility of competition.[51]

The vivid impression made by Arne's and Boyce's dirges is also evident in the fact that, during the 1750s, several other composers wrote *Romeo and Juliet* dirges. These include Charles Avison, who used the words set by Boyce,[52] and Nicolo Pasquali, who set the words used by Arne.[53] In addition, there is a dirge in Francis Hopkins' book, which was previously thought to be Boyce's

missing version, but is in fact a completely separate composition.[54] As far as we are aware, none of these dirges was used on the London stage.

It is clear from advertisements that the additional funeral scene continued to play a prominent part in performances of *Romeo and Juliet* to the end of the century. Frequently we are provided with a list of the principal singers: the advertisement for Covent Garden on 7 October 1799 lists 31 names![55] Less frequently, however, are the composers of the dirges named. This makes it difficult to ascertain how long Boyce's and Arne's dirges were played at the theatres.

It seems probable that Arne's setting was always used at Covent Garden. Apart from being published around 1765 there is a late eighteenth-century manuscript copy of the dirge, which has been prepared for use by singers.[56] However, advertisements in the 1790s refer, quite clearly, to an Elegy by Dr. Arne but do not give a composer for the 'Solemn Dirge'.[57] What also does not help is that although most performances of *Romeo and Juliet* in the last third of the century took place at Covent Garden, rather than Drury Lane, it was Drury Lane's words for the dirge which were always reprinted - even when the edition was supposedly 'Taken from the Manager's Book at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden'.[58]

At Drury Lane Boyce's dirge was certainly replaced. For the performance on 17 November 1788 the advertisement informs us: 'End of Act IV Dirge by [Thomas] Linley [Senior]'.[59] There were only seven more performances of *Romeo and Juliet* at Drury Lane before the end of the century.[60] It seems that Linley's setting was used for these performances. Unfortunately, the music is no longer extant.[61]

There are two final musical points which need to be made about *Romeo and Juliet*. First, the dirge published in John Caulfield's collection (London, [1864]) is actually a hybrid between the Arne and the Pasquali settings. Second, Gooch and Thatcher list an overture and incidental music for *Romeo and Juliet* by Karl Friedrich Baumgarten.[62] The advertisement, on 5 October 1792, refers in fact to the *afterpiece* (C. A. Delpini's *Blue Beard, or The Flight of Harlequin*) and not the mainpiece.[63]

Timon of Athens

Timon of Athens is another Shakespeare tragedy that was performed in the eighteenth century only in an adapted form. With a total of 101 performances *Timon of Athens* was the twenty-fourth most popular of Shakespeare's plays in London in the century.[1] During this period three different adaptations were performed in London, one each by Thomas Shadwell, Richard Cumberland and Thomas Hull. A fourth adaptation, by James Love, was performed at Richmond Green but not in London.[2]

Thomas Shadwell's *The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-hater* is the most important of the three adaptations that were performed in London. It was first printed in 1678, and probably received its première in January of that year.[3] In the eighteenth century it saw 89 performances between 17 January 1701 and 30 December 1745.[4]

Shadwell's play follows the outline of Shakespeare's, but the language is largely rewritten and there are abridgements and additions. More is made of Alcibiades, but Timon himself is devalued as a character. A love element is introduced, with Timon caught between the loves of his fiancée Melissa, and of his ex-lover Evandra. Shadwell's Timon is a much weaker, more pathetic character than Shakespeare's, being a hedonist and mere puppet to his emotions. Thus only Shadwell's Timon can proclaim 'we should seize on pleasure wheresoever we can find it',[5] and 'Man is not Master of his appetites',[6] and even 'I can love two at once, trust me I can'.[7] Another important difference between the two plays is that in Shadwell's version Timon dies on stage.

The musical requirements in Shakespeare's play and Shadwell's adaptation are similar, though with some interesting differences. In both plays military signals often accompany Alcibiades' appearances. In Shakespeare's play Timon's initial entrance also is heralded by trumpets. The same entrance in Shadwell's play, however, is signalled by 'soft Musick', an early indication of Shadwell's more 'womanish' and hedonistic Timon.[8] Nevertheless, Shadwell uses kettle-drums and trumpets to accompany Timon's feast in the second act[9], whereas Shakespeare has 'Hautboyes Playing lowd Musicke'.[10] Needless to say, since we are dealing with mere 'signal' music, we do not know what music was actually used in any performances of the play.

The most important occasion for music in both plays is the masque that occurs during Timon's great feast. The feast is present both as pure entertainment and as an expression of the extravagant nature of Timon's hospitality.[11] In Shakespeare's play there are 'Maskers of [Ladies as] Amazons, with Lutes in their hands, dauncing and playing'. After the masque 'The Lords rise from Table, with much adoring of Timon, and to shew their loues, each single out an Amazon, and all Dance, men with women, a loftie straine or two to the Hautboyes, and cease.' Apart from these directions no words are given. In contrast, Shadwell provides verses to be sung, calling for pastoral characters, including nymphs, shepherds, maenades (female Bacchantes) and Ægipanes (satyrs).[12] In this masque the pleasures of love are pitted against the pleasures of wine - a further reflection on the decadent and sensual life-style of Shadwell's Timon.

At least some of the music for Shadwell's masque was originally composed by Louis Grabu.[13] By 1695, however, this had been replaced by Henry Purcell's setting.[14] Purcell set only the first 22 lines of Shadwell's text, followed by new verses, at least some of which were written by Peter Motteux.[15] Full consideration of Purcell's *Timon* masque music (and also to an overture to the play in D major and a Curtain tune in G minor) is given in the introduction to Jack Westrup's edition of the work for the Purcell Society (vol II, 1974), and in Curtis Price's *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge, 1984) 89-96.[16]

Purcell's music was clearly advertised as being used in eighteenth-century performances of *Timon of Athens* at least until May 1716.[17] During this time, as well as being given as a concert piece,[18] it was occasionally performed in other plays.[19] It is interesting that on a few occasions Purcell's masque was billed as an afterpiece to Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*, with other entertainments presumably occupying the position of the masque in the second act.[20]

Although it is unwise to infer too much from the absence of information in advertisements, it does look as though Purcell's music was not always used in performances of Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*, particularly after 1716. What music was used instead is often unclear. The advertisements frequently contain rather vague references to singing and dancing. Often the entertainments mentioned in these advertisements are clearly unrelated to the play, especially when they occur between the acts.[21] Occasionally, however, there are connections. For example, at Drury Lane in the mid-1730s various dances were indicated as being performed in the second act (that is, presumably, to replace the masque).[22] Sometimes songs were introduced.[23] However, these songs and dances were not written specifically for the play; they merely fulfilled the dramatic need for entertainment in the second act. This can be seen, for example, with reference to a performance of *Timon of Athens* at Drury Lane on 23 April 1729. For this occasion the advertisements state: 'In Act II: A Masque, with *Grand Dance of Moors* by Rainton and others, the music composed by Corelli'.[24] At first glance it may appear that we are dealing with a newly composed masque by Corelli, featuring a dance of Moors. Corelli, however, had died sixteen years earlier. Nevertheless, his music was popular in eighteenth-century England.[25] In particular, several of his concerti grossi, especially op. 6 no. 8, had been performed at Drury Lane between 15 May 1723 and 17 May 1728.[26] Indeed, the eighth concerto was played, presumably between the acts, at a performance of *Timon of Athens* at Drury Lane on 23 May 1726.[27] Whether this concerto was now choreographed is unclear. It is also unclear from the advertisement whether or not the 'Grand Dance of Moors' was danced to Corelli's music. (The advertisement could imply that the dance was additional to the masque, with the masque using music by Corelli.) What is clear, however, is that this dance was used in other plays. Between the two performances of *Timon of Athens* at Drury Lane which advertise the 'Dance of Moors' (23 April and 26 May 1729)[28] the dance was also used in the same theatre on 2 May at a performance of Vanburgh's *The Relapse*.[29] The dance was then used at Drury Lane three years later for a performance of Villier's *The Rehearsal*.[30]

When it was decided to stage Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden for the first time, new music was commissioned specifically for the second-act masque. The

advertisement for the performance on 1 May 1733 informs us: 'In II: A New Masque of Vocal and Instrumental Musick, composed by Mr Rose[i]ngrave, in Honour of Flora, the Goddess of Spring: Vocal Parts by Leveridge, Salway, with dances by Nivelon, Glover, Miss Rogers, Pelling, De la Garde, Newhouse, Mrs Pelling, Miss La Tour, Mrs Ogden'.[31] Furthermore, the performance boasted 'A New Grand Overture, composed by Dr Pepusch'.[32] Roseingrave's masque was also advertised for the second performance at Covent Garden, on 29 May 1733, but not subsequently.[33] Roseingrave's music does not survive, but I believe two instrumental parts (viola and bass) may be extant from Pepusch's composition. British Library MS RM 24 e 13 is a composite manuscript, containing a copy of Purcell's masque music for *Timon of Athens* written in a late seventeenth-century hand. Preceding this is an 'Overture in Timon of Athens', copied by a mid-eighteenth-century scribe, and erroneously attributed to Purcell. Four staves have been ruled, of which the lower two have been filled in, and the upper two left blank. The piece is in F major and two sections, the second being fugal. The eighteenth-century hand is found also in several other manuscripts at the British Library, all with similar pressmarks. These seem to have been copied for use at Covent Garden in the 1740s, suggesting that RM 24 e 13 may have been prepared for the revival of *Timon of Athens* at Covent Garden in 1745. That an overture from a production of *Timon* in the 1730s (at the same theatre) was being resurrected seems plausible enough. However, there is no concrete evidence that these parts are indeed from Pepusch's missing overture.

It is worth briefly mentioning one last advertisement. For the performance of Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* at Drury Lane on 13 May 1741 we learn that Lowe sang Arne's new song 'Blow, blow thou Winter wind', at the end of the third act.[34] Although the song comes from *As You Like It*, its words are particularly apposite at this point in the play: Timon has just held his mock feast and ends the act railing at his (fleeing) false friends.[35]

In addition to Purcell's music for *Timon of Athens* there also are some act tunes that were composed in the seventeenth century. These are printed in Appendices I and II to Westrup's edition.[36] There are eight tunes, four in D major and four in F major. Despite Westrup's claim that only the F major tunes are attributable to James Paisible, it is possible that all eight tunes were in fact composed by Paisible.[37] It seems perfectly conceivable that, as Westrup suggested, these act tunes were used in early eighteenth-century performances of *Timon of Athens*.

There is also one song that appears to have been sung in a performance of *Timon of Athens*. In 1703 the *Monthly Mask of Vocal Music* published a song 'Sung by M^{rs} Hodgson in the Play call'd Timon of Athens[.] Set by M^{r} Jer. Clarke'. Gooch and Thatcher suggest that this song may originally have been composed for the first performance of the play in 1678.[38] This seems highly unlikely as Mrs Hodgson is known to have been active as a theatre singer only from the 1690s onwards.[39] Also, most of Clarkes's theatre pieces were written in the late 1690s and early 1700s.[40] I suggest that Mrs Hodgson may have sung the song in one or two of the performances of *Timon of Athens* at the very start of the century. Gooch and Thatcher also state that the words of the song were written by Thomas Shadwell, a claim I find no reason to substantiate.[41] Gooch and Thatcher do not discuss the text of the song (the complete words of which are given in Appendix B). The words refer to Alonzo

and Cynthia, two characters who do not appear in the play. However, if Alonzo is a generalised name intended here to refer to Timon and, similarly, if Cynthia refers in fact to Evandra, then the piece can easily be accommodated in the fifth act. The song would emphasize an event not present in Shakespeare's original, that is Timon's death on stage. It was presumably sung immediately upon Timon's expiration, and before Evandra stabs herself, making both of the deaths all the more poignant.[42] This song could be performed by the character Evandra. The singer, Mrs Hodgson, however, was not an actress. Thus she must have delivered the song as the distressed Evandra stood, or knelt, over Timon's dead body. Since the situation is being commented upon in this way, it matters less that generalised names are used rather than specifically those of Timon and Evandra. The fatal 'dart' referred to in the song presumably represents the ingratitude and falseness of Timon's so-called friends.

There is one final direction for music that deserves consideration. In the fourth act of the play Timon, digging for roots, comes across gold. News reaches Athens of this fortune and Timon is visited by various people, including the sycophants introduced in the opening scene. In Shakespeare's play it is the poet and the painter who visit Timon. In Shadwell's play these two are joined by a musician. There is the direction 'A Symphony' as the three try to flatter their way back into Timon's favour.[43] Apart from this vague direction we lack clues to the identity of the music used at this point in any performance of the play. Price argues that Purcell's Curtain Tune in G minor may have been used here.[44] This is an ingenious suggestion, but valid objections are raised by Neville Davies.[45] One of Davies's points is that the music should be calm, not agitated, and should recall the music of the second-act masque.[46] A more striking parallel than with the masque seems, to me, to be with Timon's initial entry in the play, when the sycophants are present and, as we have already noted, Timon enters to 'soft Musick'.

Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* was last performed in London on 30 December 1745.[47] A full twenty five years elapsed before *Timon of Athens* was staged again in the city, this time in a version by Richard Cumberland.[48] Cumberland's adaptation is far closer to Shakespeare's play than is Shadwell's, with much of Shakespeare's language retained verbatim. Timon's essential nature is preserved, but he is given a daughter Evanthe. She is beloved of the General Alcibiades, a character far more developed than even in Shadwell's alteration. Much of the earlier part of Shakespeare's play remains intact in Cumberland's alteration, but the final act in particular is largely new, and Timon's death, once again, occurs on stage.

Cumberland's musical requirements are essentially those of Shakespeare. There are military signals to accompany most of Alcibiades's entrances, and Timon first enters to trumpets. The masque, now ending the first act is, in Cumberland's alteration, put on specially to honour Alcibiades. As in Shakespeare no words are given, but there are directions for a dance. Timon introduces the dance as follows:

> Pray ye sit:
> And as, in honour of our warlike guest,
> The shrill-ton'd clarions in loud concert pour

> Their swelling peal, a band of *Lydian* dancers
> Shall all the while their airy measures tread
> Responsive to the strain.[49]

Then follows the direction: 'Here a grand dance is introduced to martial musick'.[50] We lack information concerning the composer of this dance. However, the advertisements for the première of this alteration inform us who the dancers were: 'In Act I, will be introduced a *Grand Dance* by Diagville, Atkins, Giorgi, Sga Vidini, Sga Giorgi and Miss Rogers'.[51]

Cumberland's alteration contains one other minor direction for music that deserves comment. Evanthe's first appearance in the play happens in the following manner: 'Evanthe advances from the back scene, attended by a train of ladies', whereupon Timon remarks 'Give the flutes breath!' and there follows the cue 'flutes'.[52] I can only surmise that the flutes were used as a symbol of Evanthe's gentle nobility (a quality which becomes evident in the course of the play).

Cumberland's *Timon of Athens* was performed only eleven times in the eighteenth century - at Drury Lane between 4 December 1771 and 6 February 1772.[53] This is a little surprising given the earlier popularity of Shadwell's version, and the superiority of this adaptation to that play.

Hogan notes that the Bell edition of *Timon of Athens*, published in 1774, despite its claim: 'As Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury-Lane. Regulated from the Prompt-Book', contains neither Shadwell's nor Cumberland's alteration. Instead, it has an edited version of Shakespeare's original, with a number of minor omissions. Hogan suggests a revival may have been in prospect, noting also that the only known performance of Shakespeare's *Timon of Athens* in an unaltered form in the eighteenth century occurred at the Smock Alley Theatre, Dublin, on 3 June 1761.[54]

Finally, eighteenth-century London was graced with one last performance of *Timon of Athens* before the close of the century. This was yet another adaptation, this time by Thomas Hull. The play was performed once, at Covent Garden on 13 June 1786, but the text was not published, and there is no extant manuscript it.[55] From the cast list given in the advertisement for the performance, however, we can deduce that Hull's adaptation borrowed from Shadwell's alteration, as well as from Shakespeare's original.[56] The advertisement also informs us that, as in Shadwell, Timon's feast occurred in the second act. We read: 'DANCING. In Act II of mainpiece a Banquet and *Masquerade Dance*'.[57] Unfortunately, neither the dancers nor a composer are named.

Titus Andronicus

Titus Andronicus, the most gratuitously bloody of all Shakespeare's plays, ranks twenty-ninth in the eighteenth-century London Shakespeare performance league, with sixteen performances in the first part of the century.[1] These performances, which occurred between 1704 and 1724, were of an alteration by Edward Ravenscroft, first published in 1687 and entitled *Titus Andronicus, or The Rape of Lavinia*.

In his address 'To the Reader', in the printed edition of 1687, Ravenscroft comments on Shakespeare's original play: ''tis the most incorrect and indigested piece in all his Works; It seems rather a heap of Rubbish than a Structure'. He continues: 'However as if some great Building had been design'd, in the removal we found many Large and Square Stones both usefull and Ornamental to the Fabrick, as now Modell'd: Compare the Old Play with this, you'l finde that none in all that Authors Works ever receiv'd greater Alterations or Additions, the Language not only refin'd, but many Scenes entirely New'. The last part of this statement is an exaggeration. This adaptation is closer to Shakespeare's original than, for example, Restoration alterations of *Macbeth*, *Timon of Athens* or *The Tempest*.

Unfortunately, from our point of view, little music is required in *Titus Andronicus*. Shakespeare's play calls for ceremonial trumpets and drums. These accompany important entrances and exits, and also the laying of a coffin in a tomb. In addition, horns are specified in the second scene of the second act, which is a short hunting scene.

The same uses of music are found in Ravenscroft's alteration, except that the hunting scene is entirely omitted. However, the specific musical cues are not exactly the same. For example, no music is indicated in Shakespeare's original when Titus's first son is buried. Indeed, the lines spoken by Titus following the direction 'They open the tomb' are:

> There greet in silence, as the dead are wont,
> And sleep in peace, slain in your country's wars.[2]

The instruction in Ravenscroft's adaptation, in contrast, reads:

> The Temple opens, A glorious Tomb is discover'd where they place
> the Dead Corps, Warlike Musick all the while Sounding.[3]

Titus then speaks the two lines quoted above, giving the 'silence' a slightly different meaning.

Needless to say, none of this 'signal' music (which could be related specifically to this play) has survived. However, we do have an overture and act tune that can be associated with performances of *Titus Andronicus*. These are present in Lcm 1172,[4] a manuscript compiled around 1700,[5] and are thought to be by Jeremiah Clarke.[6] The presence of these two pieces in this manuscript suggests that *Titus Andronicus* was revived during the 1690s. This accords with the newspaper comment for the revival in 1704: 'Not Acted these Six Years'.[7] That this act music was also used in the 1704 production is quite conceivable, although it is unlikely to have been used in later performances.

Troilus and Cressida

Troilus and Cressida, like *Titus Andronicus*, was not a very popular play, being performed a mere ten times between 1709 and 1734.[1] It, too, was performed in an adapted form, this time by John Dryden. Dryden's play, *Troilus and Cressida: or Truth Found too Late* (1679), retains many of Shakespeare's original lines, though there is some reordering and abridgement of material. Some new parts also are added, particularly at the end. In Shakespeare's play, for example, the ending is rather inconclusive; in Dryden's work Cressida kills herself, Troilus kills Diomedes and Achilles kills Troilus.

Apart from a number of military signals Shakespeare's play contains one song. This is the song 'Love, love, nothing but love' sung by Pandarus in the third act.[2] It is an indecent song, bringing home the lustful nature of the adulterous affair between Helen and Paris, and hence commenting on the corruption of Troy.

The characters Helen and Paris, to whom Pandarus addresses his song, are omitted in Dryden's adaptation. However, just as Shakespeare's song comments on the physical relationship between one pair of lovers, so Dryden introduces a song to comment in a similar way on a different pair of lovers. Dryden's focus is on Troilus and Cressida, and the new song, 'Can life be a blessing', occurs in the second scene of the third act. This is equivalent to, though an expanded version of, the second scene of the fourth act in Shakespeare's original, shortly before Aeneas (Hector in Dryden's version) breaks the news that Cressida is to be taken to the Greek camp.

As the dialogue preceding the song makes plain, once again it is the physical nature of the relationship which is of interest to the other characters.[3] However, the song itself is rather less explicit than Shakespeare's original. An interesting detail is that in Shakespeare's play the song is sung by Pandarus, whereas in Dryden's work the musicians and singer are quite separate from the main characters. The song is introduced: 'Musick, and then Song: during which Pandarus listens'.[4]

Although no eighteenth-century setting of Dryden's song is known, there are two extant seventeenth-century settings. The earlier of these, by Thomas Farmer, was printed in 1681.[5] It may well have been written for the première in 1679. The second setting, by John Eccles, was not published until 1704,[6] though it is thought to have been used in the 1690s. It has been suggested that since Dryden's play was reprinted in 1695 there may have been a revival of the play at that time, and that Eccles's setting could have been composed for that production.[7] Gooch and Thatcher have accepted this dating.[8] However, a playbill in the Folger Shakespeare Library, advertising a performance of the play on 28 October 1697, states: 'Not Acted these 16 years'.[9] This suggests that there was no revival around 1695, and that the Eccles song was written for this 1697 production. It is possible that Eccles's song was used also in the 1709 performance, though I suspect that the song may have been omitted in the 1720s and 1730s, since it is not dramatically essential and there is no evidence of a song having been sung in these later performances.

Endnotes for Introduction

1. On the rise of Bardolatry see Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660-1789* (Oxford, 1992).

2. HG II 715.

3. For more information on the music see Curtis A. Price, *Music in the Restoration Theatre* (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979).

4. Preface to *The Works of Shakespear* edited by Alexander Pope 7 vols (London, 1723-25), from which all quotations in the paragraph have been taken.

5. Contained in the first volume of *The Plays of William Shakespeare* 8 vols (London, 1765).

6. LS III i 550.

7. Edited by William Van Lennep, Emmett L. Avery, Arthur H. Scouten, George Winchester Stone Jr, and Charles Beecher Hogan, 11 vols (Carbondale, 1960-68).

Endnotes for All's Well That Ends Well

1. Joseph G. Price, *The Unfortunate Comedy* (Liverpool, 1968) 3.

2. HG II 718 and LS III ii 895 - V iii 1711 *passim*.

3. Price, op. cit. 5 and 9.

4. LS IV ii 528 - IV iii 1833-34 *passim*.

5. LS V ii 812-13.

6. LS V iii 1711.

7. Garrick's alteration was published by J. Bell in 1773 and Kemble's by J. Debrett in 1793. See also HG II 110 and Price, op. cit. 11-14 and 23 ff.

8. But see HG II 110 and Price, op. cit. 20-22.

9. Seng 177-78.

10. Seng 178.

11. *All's Well that Ends Well*, Arden edition edited by G. K. Hunter, note to I.iii.67-76. Seng and Hunter, of course, are referring to performances of the play in Shakespeare's time.

12. As noted earlier, the Bell edition represents Garrick's alteration of the play.

13. Details from HG I 88-89, II 111-15, and appropriate entries in BD. Interestingly, there is a promptbook at the Folger Shakespeare Library (Prompt All's Well 3), which Edward Langhans suggests was prepared for the performance at Covent Garden on 19 September 1774 (*Eighteenth Century British and Irish Promptbooks* (Connecticut, 1987) 140-41). In this promptbook the Clown's song has been cut.

Endnotes for As You Like It

1. It was the eighth most popular Shakespeare play, and the third most performed comedy, in the second half of the eighteenth century (HG II 717). The play formed the basis of the libretto of an Italian opera, set to music by Francesco Veracini. Entitled *Rosalinda*, it was performed at the King's Theatre in 1744 (LS III ii 1086-97 *passim*) but appears to have had no influence on performances of the play at the normal playhouses.

2. See Arden edition of *As You Like It* (edited by Agnes Latham) note to III iv 90 concerning what is known of the sixteenth-century song 'O sweet Oliver'.

3. Seng 93.

4. The play also calls for flourishes to announce the wrestling contest between Orlando and Charles.

5. For further details of this adaptation see HG I 89 and Odell I 244-47.

6. Neighbarger, 93-94, mistakenly states that *Love in a Forest* contains 'Under the greenwood tree' rather than 'Blow, blow thou winter wind'.

7. BL copy G 313 (49).

8. LS II ii 776.

9. LS II ii 704-05.

10. See Odell I 247.

11. LS III ii 875.

12. All later eighteenth-century acting editions of *As You Like It* seem to derive from the Bell edition. See HG II 117.

13. HG I 90. The title-page of the edition states: As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal in Aungier-Street, Dublin. (Dublin: A Reilly, 1741).

14. For more details compare HG I 90 and II 117.

15. G&T I 51 (no 398) comment: 'Roger Fiske in *MT* (January 1964), p48, states that Arne's setting of 'When icicles hang by the wall'...was also sung in this production of *As You Like It*'. There is not a shred of evidence to support this unlikely statement.

16. See, for example, G&T I 51 (nos. 399 and 400) and BUCEM I 42. 'Blow, blow thou winter wind' was also separately published a number of times but, curiously, not 'Under the greenwood tree'.

17. HG I 91.

18. New York Public Library Acc. #709468. When Celia sings the song her line 'And I'll sleep' (originally IV i 208) is altered to 'And I'll sing'.

19. For details see G&T I 159 (no. 1590).

20. The two volumes of this collection were published by Robert Horsfield in 1771 and 1772.

21. For example, the advertisements for the production at Drury Lane on 25 April 1794 list Amiens (with songs) - Dignum; Rosalind (with the Cuckoo song) - Mrs Goodall, and note: 'In act V a song by Mrs Bland' (LS V iii 1639-40).

22. It should be noted that there are no composer attributions to any of the songs in *Vocal Music or the Songster's Companion*.

23. *The Musick in the Comedy of As You Like It* (London: Harrison and Co [*c*1785]).

24. G&T I 51 (no. 398).

Endnotes for The Comedy of Errors

1. LS II i 392-93. Hogan lists this play as being written by William Taverner and Dr Brown. All other standard reference books, however, name Taverner as the sole author.
2. LS III i 421-27 *passim*.
3. LS III i 421.
4. LS III ii 942-50 *passim*.
5. LS III ii 1060.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid.
8. LS IV ii 931.
9. HG II 151. I know of one unique copy of this edition, which is housed at the Garrick Club in London.
10. LS V i 230.
11. For further details see HG II 149-50.
12. Printed by J. Bell. I know of only two extant copies: one at the Garrick Club in London, and one at the University Library of Cambridge. See also HG II 150.
13. Arguably, the song is suggested by Shakespeare's own text. Antipholus, when attempting to seduce Luciana, comments: 'Sing, siren, for thyself, and I will dote' (III ii 47).
14. LS V i 230 - V iii 2078 *passim*.
15. Mrs Farrell, as listed for 22 January 1779, married to become Mrs Kennedy.
16. BL dating.
17. BL: G 297 (25).
18. BD VIII 416-18.
19. LS V iii 1538-2058 *passim*. Miss Barnett sang Hermia's song on 3 and 5 June 1793, and Mrs Henley on 2 June 1798 (LS V iii 2078).
20. NG I 604-05.
21. G&T I 192 (no. 2023).
22. NG I 604-05.
23. Ibid.

24. Odell II 45.

25. Odell II 48.

26. LS V ii 1456.

27. LS V iii Index c.

28. It should be noted that although the advertisements usually refer to Shakespeare's *Comedy of Errors* we are almost certainly dealing with Hull's adaptation throughout the final decades of the eighteenth century. The adaptor was often not mentioned when the alteration remained so close to the original.

29. Kemble's alteration is mentioned in: James Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble Esq.* 2 vols (London, 1825) I 33.

30. Stephen Storace's opera *Gli equivoci* also failed to reach the London stage. See Richard Platt's entry in *Opera Grove* II 58.

Endnotes for Cymbeline

1. HG II 717.

2. *Cymbeline* IV ii 235-42.

3. Arden edition of *Cymbeline*, edited by J. M. Nosworthy, Appendix C p215. Where I have substituted 'sung' and 'spoken' in this quotation Nosworthy, erroneously, has 'spoken' and 'written'. That he intended the words I have substituted is clear from the rest of the paragraph.

4. LS I 307. The printed Epilogue informs us that the play 'was writ nine years ago' but there is no evidence of a performance then.

5. LS II i 26.

6. For further details see Odell I 69-70 and HG I 102.

7. D&M 64, 188, 214, 222, 232, 237. D'Urfey's *New Collection of Songs and Poems* contains the words only; the tune was first published in *Wit and Mirth*.

8. NG XIV 71.

9. The words and melody are given in Appendix B.

10. On 8 November 1744. LS IIIii 1129.

11. LS IIIii 1230-31.

12. MS Mus c 35 ff 2-4.

13. G&T I 239 (no. 2445) are mistaken in describing this text as 'a much altered version'.

14. Printed for Charles Marsh in London, 1759. Although written a few years earlier it was no doubt published in 1759 in aggrievance at Hawkins's adaptation of the play being staged, at Covent Garden, that year.

15. For further details see Odell I 367-71 and HG II 166.

16. Hawkins's play was published in London in 1759 (printed for James Rivington and James Fletcher).

17. London, printed for the composer [1761] pp24-27.

18. LS IV ii 711, 712 and 721.

19. LS IV ii 905.

20. Garrick's alteration was first published by J. and R. Tonson in London, 1762. For further details of Garrick's changes see Odell I 371-72 and HG II 167.

21. G&T I 238 (no. 2438) assign Aylward's piece to completely the wrong production. As already noted, Hawkins's adaptation cuts the whole serenade scene. Besides, if the singer Mrs Vincent were the same as the Elizabeth Vincent who played Imogen in 1759, as they imply in this entry, she would hardly have sung a serenade to herself.

22. LS IV ii 905.

23. LS IV iii 1544.

24. LS V ii 950 and 854.

25. Published in Thomas Warren (ed), *A Sixteenth Collection of Catches Canons and Glees* (London: Longman & Broderip [1777]).

26. LS V ii 670.

27. LS V iii 1598.

28 Published in William Collins, *An Epistle: Addrest to Sir Thomas Hanmer, On his Edition of Shakespear's Works. The Second Edition. To which is added, A song from 'Cymbeline' of the same Author.* (London, 1744). The six stanzas of the song are present on pages 13-15.

29. G&T I 275-77 also list settings by the Rev. Carter, Benjamin Cooke, Thomas Ebdon, John Fergus, Tommaso Giordani, William Jackson, James Nares, Maria Hester Park, and Francis Remy. The anonymous piece (G&T I 274 no. 2844) is in fact Carter's composition, but there is also a setting of the text by a Mr Butler which they do not list.

Endnotes for Love's Labour's Lost

1. Edith Margaret Mary Holding, '*Love's Labour's Lost* and the English Stage 1762-1949', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Birmingham 1978, introduction.

2. Holding (op. cit. 8) describes the new Berowne as a 'ludicrous and embarrassing ninny, lacking either dignity or credibility'.

3. V. & A. Forster Coll. 48 F.27, quoted in: George Winchester Stone Jr, 'Garrick, and an unknown operatic version of *Love's Labour's Lost*', *Review of English Studies* xv (1939) 323-28.

4. Folger Prompt LLL 1. For details of changes see Holding, op. cit. 431-35.

5. For details of derivations of these songs see Holding op. cit. 436.

6. Op. cit. 23-29.

7. This text was unknown to Holding. The only mention of it that I have come across is in William P. Halstead's *Shakespeare as Spoken* vol 2 (Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1979), where it is collated with other versions of *Love's Labour's Lost*. However, only omissions, and none of the additions, are noted and there is no hint of the unique character of this source.

8. BL: 1344 d 1.

9. Ernest Bernbaum, *The Drama of Sensibility* (Gloucester, Mass., 1958) 10.

10. The adaptation is, however, inconsistent, as can be seen by the retention of some of Costard's more buffoonish lines.

11. LS V ii 1276.

12. Leveridge's setting was published in *The Musical Miscellany* vol 2 (London, 1729) 12-13. A different tune is used for each of the two halves. Arne's 'The Cuckow' was first printed in *The Songs in the Comedies called As You Like It and Twelfth Night* (London, [1741]) 6-7. For further details see the entry above on *As You Like It*.

13. This was first published as 'The Owl' in *The Songs and Duetto in the Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green* (London, [?1741]).

Endnotes for Measure for Measure

1. Prior to 1700 we know only that *Dido and Aeneas* was performed by pupils at a girls boarding school in Chelsea. For further details see C. A. Price (ed) *Dido and Aeneas*, Norton Critical Score (New York and London, 1986) ix.

2. *Measure for Measure, OR, BEAUTY THE Best Advocate. As it is ACTED At the THEATRE in Lincolns-Inn-Fields* (D. Brown and R. Parker: London, 1700). LS I 523-24 suggests that it was first performed before March 1700. Gildon's name does not appear on the title-page. His authorship is confirmed by an advertisement at the end of the 1701 edition of *Love's Victim; or, The Queen of Wales* for 'Measure for Measure a Comedy alter'd from *Beaumont* and *Fletcher* by Mr. *Gilden*'. This attribution was noted by Eric Walter White: see 'New Light on *Dido and Aeneas*' in *Henry Purcell 1659-1695* edited by Imogen Holst (London, 1959) 20.

3. First printed in 1673 though performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in February and December 1662 (LS I 47, 48 and 59).

4. For details of these two versions see Edward A. Cairns, *Charles Gildon's Measure for Measure, or Beauty the Best Advocate: A Critical Edition* (New York and London, 1987) 40-64.

5. Neighbarger (p58) disagrees: 'Shakespeare's story was cut to a bare minimum, as a framework for the unrelated musical scenes'. Odell (I 196) is also disparaging: 'It is clear that this mummery is ridiculous for so gloomy and distressing a play as Measure for Measure'. For more perceptive discussions see: Eric Walter White, op. cit. 21-33 and Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* (Cambridge, 1984) 234-38.

6. All the following quotations are taken from the 1700 *Measure* edition pp2-45 *passim*.

7. I disagree with Odell (I 74) that the Duke does not marry Isabella. Gildon's play still contains the lines: 'Give me your hand, and say you will be mine,/ He is my Brother too, but fitter time for that.' It should be noted that the subtitle of Gildon's play, 'Beauty the Best Advocate', is somewhat ironic.

8. For details of textual differences see Price, *Dido and Aeneas* 63-79.

9 For details of the sources, and their problems, see Price *Dido and Aeneas* 47-59.

10. *Orpheus Britannicus* I (Henry Playford: London, 1698) 193: Cmc MS F.4.35 (1-5) set 5 no 13 f14' and set 30 no 2 ff79'-80.

11. According to Richard Luckett, librarian of the Pepys Library, Magdalene College, Cambridge.

12. BL copy G 304(54).

13. Ob: Mus I c 73.

14. Prompt Meas 2. See also Curtis Price and Irena Cholij, 'Dido's Bass Sorceress', *Musical Times* cxxvii (1986) 615-18.

15. Case VM 3.1 P985. I am very grateful to Richard Platt for sharing material and information on these act tunes. I am puzzled that G&T II 810 (no. 7640) suggests that the music was composed for productions in 1720 or 1732. As can be seen in note 16 below, at least one of Eccles' tunes was already in print by 1701.

16. Numbers 2, 3, 5 and 6 can be found in Cmc MS F.4.35 fols 139, 119, 98 and 43 respectively. The melody only of no. 7 can be found as number 20 '*Scotch* Tune in *Measure for Measure*' in *Apollo's Banquet* (London, 1701) (Durham Dean and Chapter Library Mus C 75).

17. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* 2nd edition (Oxford and New York, 1986) 14, note 1.

18. 'A SONG Set by M^{r} John Welldon the words taken out of Shakspear' in: *A COLLECTION of new Songs ... M^{r} IOHN WELLDON* (Walsh: London, [1702]) (BL copy G 301(2)). Another collection (BL K 7 i 2) has a handwritten title-page: 'Francis Norton A Collection of Songs By Severall Masters Anno 1704'.

19. LS I 523-24 posits some time before March 1700, since the Prologue to the printed edition of the play (1700) refers to 'this Winter'.

20. Folger Shakespeare Library Prompt Meas 2. See also Irena Cholij, 'London Prompt Books for *Belphegor* and *Measure for Measure*', *Theatre Notebook* xlii (1988) 57-62.

21. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (eds), *Measure for Measure* (Cambridge, 1922) 161.

22. LS II i 124.

23. Ibid. 124.

24. Eighteenth-century acting editions of *Measure for Measure* show mostly omissions, with two transpositions of scenes in Kemble's production. For full details see HG I 301 and II 400-01.

25. The composers were: John Alcock Jr, Luffmann Atterbury, John Wall Callcott, Thomas Chilcot, Christopher Dixon, John Ernest Galliard, William Gardiner, Tommaso Giordani, William Jackson, Ignatius Sancho, Mr Schroeter, John Stafford Smith, John Andrew Stevenson and Thomas Tremain. For details see G&T II 828-44 *passim*. The anonymous setting listed in G&T II 829 (no. 7820), despite the initials W. N. at the end (not W. D. as cited), is in fact the setting by Schroeter (G&T II 842 (no. 7972)).

26. For details see Seng, *Vocal Songs* 180-81 and Appendix II to the Arden edition of *Measure for Measure* by F. W. Sternfeld.

27. *Measure for Measure. A Comedy. As it is Acted at the Theatre-Royal In Lincolns-Inn-Fields* (London, 1722).

Endnotes for The Merchant of Venice

1. Using Hogan's figures (HG II 717). Hogan, however, was unaware of two performances listed by Milhous and Hume (LS II (r) 76 and 92), which would make this play the most performed Shakespeare comedy of the entire century.

2. 'Ner[issa]. It is your music (madam) of the house' (V i 98).

3. III ii 43-45. There is much debate over the meaning and function of the song which follows, 'Tell me where is fancy bred'. Through its rhymes and warnings about false appearances it is thought, by some scholars, to direct Bassanio to choose the correct casket. (See, for example, Seng 36-40.) John Russell Brown, editor of the Arden edition, argues otherwise: 'The song prevents a third recital of the mottoes on the caskets, dignifies and adds expectation to the dramatic context, and prepares the audience for Bassanio's following speech' (p80 note to III ii 63-72).

4. For details see HG I 309 and Odell I 76-79. J. Harold Wilson ('Granville's "Stock-jobbing Jew"', *Philological Quarterly* xiii (1934) 1-15) contrasts Shakespeare's Shylock ('a motivated villain, strong, dignified, terrible in his wrath') with Granville's 'petty villain of an exaggeratedly melodramatic type, a most unconvincing rascal exposed to ridicule'.

5. *The Jew of Venice* (London, 1701) 41.

6. LS II (r) 12. LS II i 7 suggests January 1701. See also Christopher Spencer, *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Urbana, 1965) 29.

7. LS II i 130 - III ii 756 *passim* and III ii 889. LS II (r) (pp76 and 92) also notes performances at Lincoln's Inn Fields in December 1702 and on 10 May 1703.

8. LS IV i 72. Hogan (II 415) notes that at Phillip's Booth in Southwark during September 1754 there were six performances of 'An excellent Droll' entitled *The Distressed Merchant; or, The Jew of Venice*. Though presumably based in some way on Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, no text or further details of this work have survived.

9. This is supported by the fact that in Granville's *The Genuine Works in Verse and Prose* 2 vols (London, 1732), overseen by the author himself, *Peleus and Thetis* is omitted from the text of the play, but appears instead among the poems. For more details see Spencer op. cit. 464-75.

10. Full scores of Boyce's masque can be found at Ob: MS Mus d 24 (autograph) and Ob: MS Mus Sch C 113[a], for which there are performing parts at MS Mus Sch C 113[b] and MS Mus Sch C 113[c]. Hayes's masque is at Ob: MS Mus d 79 and MS Mus d 80, two full scores copied by the same hand.

11. Roger Fiske, *English Theatre Music in the Eighteenth Century* 2nd edition (Oxford and New York, 1986) 13.

12. Ob: MS Mus d 80 'Joh: Awbery/E Coll: Nov: Soc:/1749'.

13. A surviving set of parts (Ob: MS Mus d 125-126) may suggest that a performance was planned.

14. LS III ii 1308.

15. 'Peleus *and* Thetis. *A Masque, by the Lord* Lansdown, *set by Mr.* Boyce' in: A MISCELLANY OF LYRIC POEMS, The GREATEST PART written for, And performed in The *Academy* of Music, Held in the APOLLO...LONDON: Printed for the ACADEMY. M.DCC.XL. no. XII pp73-83 (Ob: G.Pamph.1597(1)). I am grateful to Michael Burden for alerting me to this source.) Fiske suggested a composition date of 'in or about 1736'(op. cit. 210), a date echoed by Neighbarger (p59) but completely unsubstantiated. Ian Bartlett (*Opera Grove* III 933) comments: 'No evidence has yet been identified to support the tradition of a first performance by the Philharmonic Society at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in 1734'. There is evidence, however, that Boyce's masque was performed at the Senate House, Cambridge, on 4 July 1749 (Michael Burden, 'The British Masque: 1690-1800', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1991, II catalogue 126 note ii).

16. The Peleus partbook in MS Mus Sch C 113[b] is labelled 'Mr Beard', and there are several references to Miss Turner in the manuscript. Signora Frasi is listed in MS Mus Sch C 113[c] f200.

17. 'Peleus and Thetis', *Opera Grove* III 933.

18. Published in: *THREE PLAYS VIZ: The SHE-GALLANTS... HEROICK-LOVE...AND THE JEW OF VENICE...Written by the Right Hon[ble] GEORGE GRANVILLE, Lord LANSDOWNE...* LONDON: Printed for *Benj. Tooke* and *Bern. Lintott* ... MDCCXIII.

19. Described, for instance, in William Cooke's *Memoirs of Charles Macklin* (2nd edition (London, 1806) p405) as 'one of the finest pieces of natural acting...All these succeeding Shylocks, though just and pleasing portraits of the character, wanted the original firmness and colouring of Macklin's pencil'.

20. Of course the Bell text can only be approximate. For example, comparing cast lists (HG I 313-19, II 412-45) it seems that Macklin originally kept the scenes with the princes of Morocco and Arragon (omitted from *The Jew of Venice* and missing also in the Bell and Kemble editions). Arragon, however, seems already to have been dropped by April 1741, though Morocco persisted at Drury Lane until 1757. Morocco and Arragon are absent from all Covent Garden cast lists, as well as from those of other theatres.

21. For details of the principal omissions in the Bell edition see HG II 412.

22. See the chapter on *Twelfth Night* below.

23. Harvard Theatre Collection 13486.38.5. The song is scored out.

24. There is no evidence to suggest that R. J. S. Stevens' glee 'Tell me where is fancy bred' was used on the eighteenth-century stage.

25. See *The Spectator* (edited by Donald F. Bond (Oxford, 1965) III 376-78) for information concerning the Lapland origin of this song.

26. *Dramatic Censor* (London, 1770) I 282.

27. LS III ii 939.

28. LS IV i 273.

29. For the lyrics see Appendix B.

30. LS V iii 1937.

31. 'A NEW Duett, Introduced in the MERCHANT OF VENICE, At the Theatre Royal Drury Lane, Performed by M^{r}. Dignum, & M^{rs}. Mountain'. Dignum and Mrs Mountain played Lorenzo and Jessica on 18 October and 5 November 1800 (HG II 445) but, as already noted, the song had first been sung by Dignum and Mrs Bland on 2 November 1797.

32. LS III ii 1227.

33. LS IV i 273.

34. Jessica was also advertised 'with songs' at Covent Garden on 26 October 1756 and 3 May 1759 (LS IV ii 561, 725), and at Drury Lane on 3 October 1771 (LS IV iii 1573).

35. LS IV i 145.

36. LS III ii 1224.

37. LS III ii 1225.

Endnotes for The Merry Wives of Windsor

1. HG I 460 and II 717.

2. LS II i 19 gives May as the possible month of performance, but see entry on February 1702 in LS II (r) 53.

3. Arden edition of *The Merry Wives of* Windsor, edited by H. J. Oliver, I iv 39.

4. As H. J. Oliver (op. cit. note to I iv 39) points out, the lyrics could be the refrain to a number of different songs.

5. III i 16-20, 22-25, 28. For further discussion of these texts see Seng 164-65.

6. V v 30.

7. V v 94-103.

8. Published by A. Baldwin (London, 1702). For performance date see note 2 above.

9. *The Comical Gallant* Epistle Dedicatory [iii].

10. *The Comical Gallant* [ii]. For a more detailed synopsis see Odell I 80-82 and HG I 319.

11. *The Comical Gallant* p16. The cue is 'sings eagerly' just as, in similar vein, there is the cue 'with a forc'd smile'.

12. Twice each in 1704 and 1705. LS II i 64-110 *passim*.

13. For further details see HG II 445-46.

14. Ibid. 446.

15. Francis Gentleman comments on Evans's song: 'Making the parson sing, while in expectation, makes a whimsical oddity of disposition, and generally creates much laughter' (Bell edition, note to p36). Kemble omits the lines beginning 'whenas I sat in Pabylon' from this song.

16. BL: G 313 (22).

17. Neighbarger p104.

18. LS II ii 596-97.

19. Volumes five (London, 1714) 79-80 and six (London, 1720) 211-12.

20. LS II i 64-110 *passim*.

Endnotes for A Midsummer Night's Dream

1. According to Gary Jay Williams ('"The Concord of this Discord": Music in the Stage History of *A Midsummer Night's Dream'*, *Yale/Theatre* iv (1973) 40-68; pp64-65) Cecil Sharp provided old English folk songs and dances for Granville-Barker's production. Madame Vestris's Covent Garden production of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which opened on 16 November 1840, is described by Odell (II 223) as 'The epoch-making restoration to the stage of something very like Shakespeare's own Midsummer Night's Dream'. However, as Williams (op. cit. 53) points out: 'The score [of Vestris's production] consisted of fourteen songs and music for the dances and special effects'.

2. Williams (op. cit. 52-67) traces the use of Mendelssohn's music, noting its appearance 'as late as 1965 at the Yvonne Arnaud Theatre in Guildford', and also in an American production of 1967, where it was 'blared from a 1940 jukebox'.

3. This is excluding the following more obliquely related works: i) *The Fairy Prince* (1771), music by Thomas Arne (G&T II 1115, no. 10765); ii) *The Enchanted Wood* (1792), music by Samuel Arnold (G&T II 1116, no. 10769); iii) *The Fairy Festival* (1797), music by Thomas Attwood (G&T II 1116, no. 10770).

4. HG II 718.

5. Music is used as a symbol of concord and harmony in the play. For example, by way of illustrating the disharmony felt among mortals, as a result of the marital disagreements between Titania and Oberon, we learn: 'No night is now with hymn or carol blest' (II i 102). Music's power of enchantment is also often alluded to. For example, there is Helena's complaint to Hermia: 'Your eyes are lode-stars, and your tongue's sweet air / More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear' (I i 183-4). However, the most vivid image of music's mystical power and influence is given by Oberon (II i 148-54):

> Thou rememb'rest
> Since once I sat upon a promontory,
> And heard a mermaid on a dolphin's back
> Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath
> That the rude sea grew civil at her song
> And certain stars shot madly from their spheres
> To hear the sea-maid's music?

6. Arden edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, edited by Harold Brookes, (1979 R/1983) Introduction cxx.

7. For example, in contrast to the mortals, the fairies often converse in lines of six to eight syllables, thus our first encounter with them (II i 1-9):

Puck: How now, spirit! Whither wander you?

Fairy: Over hill, over dale,
Thorough bush, thorough briar,
Over park, over pale,
Thorough flood, thorough fire,
I do wander everywhere,
Swifter than the moon's sphere;
And I serve the Fairy Queen,
To dew her orbs upon the green.

Even shorter lines are used, for comic mock-heroic effect, in the mechanicals' play.

8. Shakespeare uses music to help make this distinction in *The Tempest*, where magical effects are routinely accompanied by music. This consistent marrying of music and magic is not the case in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.

9. Although it is clear from the context that these lines are sung, there is no explicit cue for Bottom to sing in either the Quarto or Folio texts.

10. This direction is present in the Folio but not the Quarto texts, and is normally omitted in modern editions.

11. After Titania commands 'Music ho, music, such as charmeth sleep!' (IV i 82) the First Folio calls for 'Musick still'. From Theobald onwards this has been taken to mean 'still [i.e. soft] music'. There is no direction in the Quarto texts.

12. There is one exception. Titania's lullaby 'You spotted snakes' is described as a 'roundel'(II ii 1), a song which was also danced to. However, although both Quarto and Folio texts make it clear that the fairies sing, there is no instruction in either for them to dance.

13. Neither dance is cued in either Folio or Quarto texts, even though both are implicitly called for.

14. There has been some confusion over the final song and dance. There is no cue for either in the Quarto texts, whereas the First Folio heads Oberon's final speech (V i 387-408) *The Song* and puts it in italics. It is now generally accepted that Oberon's closing speech should not be sung, but that the words of the required song are missing. That there is also a dance is clear from Oberon's command 'Sing, and dance it trippingly' (V i 382) and also from his earlier command to Titania (IV i 86-89):

> Now thou and I are new in amity,
> And will to-morrow midnight, solemnly,
> Dance in Duke Theseus' house triumphantly,
> And bless it to all fair prosperity.

15. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* edited by R. A. Foakes. New Cambridge edition (Cambridge, 1984 R/1994) 12.

16. Ibid.

17. Robert Latham and William Matthew (eds), *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* 11 vols, (London, 1970-82) III, 208.

18. For a discussion of the authorship problem see Curtis Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* 321-22. Henry Purcell did not set the one Shakespeare song retained in the main body of the play, Bottom's 'The *Woosel-cock*, so black of hue', which was presumably sung unaccompanied. Since *The Fairy Queen* has been thoroughly discussed elsewhere, details here have been kept to a minimum. See, for example, Curtis Price, op. cit. 320-57; Bruce Wood and Andrew Pinnock, '*The Fairy Queen*: a fresh look at the issues', *Early Music* xxi (1993) 44-62; and Michael Burden (ed) *The Fairy Queen* (Eulenberg, forthcoming 1996).

19. Curtis Price, op. cit. 320.

20. John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, edited by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London, 1987) 89.

21. LS II (r) 41-42.

22. LS II i 31.

23. Excerpts from *The Fairy Queen* were sung in a concert at Drury Lane on 4 January 1704 (LS II i 52) and at Stationer's Hall on 11 April 1711 (LS II i 246). A performance of *The Fairy Queen*, 'with new Scenes, Machines, and several Dances by Fairies', was also advertised at Punch's Theatre on 14 May 1711 (LS II i 249). However, the actors named: Robin Goodfellow – Young Scrub; Queen – Cleomine Lydall; King Obion – Dorindall Lydall, were all children (BD IX 387-88), and I am uncertain that this was a performance of Purcell's work.

24. Richard Leveridge, *The Comick Masque of Pyramus and Thisbe. As it is perform'd at the Theatre in Lincoln's-Inn Fields*. (London, 1716), preface.

25. Ibid.

25a. It is clear from a number of differences from Shakespeare's text that Leveridge also consulted a copy of the libretto of The Fairy Queen.

26. The songs are not labelled as such. Assuming conventional practice I have taken those verses set off in italics to be songs. Contrary to Neighbarger's opinion (p81) I am not convinced that any of the text not in italics was necessarily sung as recitative.

27. The titles of all the songs are listed in Appendix A.

28. LS II ii 732-33.

29. I am puzzled by Odell's reference (I 306) to 'Leveridge's extra-ordinarily successful Pyramus and Thisbe at the new theatre'. Nine performances in one season is certainly no mark of failure but, as already noted, after that the piece was only acted once.

30. LS III ii 1148-1219 *passim*. The story of Pyramus and Thisbe was a popular one for setting to music in the eighteenth century. Gooch and Thatcher note versions by Francesco Bianchi (1783)

(II 1131 no. 10947), Michael Pignolet de Montéclair (1713) (II 1132 no. 10955), Johann Adolf Hasse (1768) (II 1132 no. 10963), Venanzio Rauzzini (1769 R/1775) (II 1133 no. 10976) and François Rebel and François Francoeur (1726) (II 1133 no. 10977). To these *Opera Grove* (III 1190) adds compositions by Giuseppe Merola and Lorenzo de' Rossi (1740). The librettos of all these, however, are independent of Shakespeare's version. Only Rauzzini's opera was performed in London in the eighteenth century. Shakespeare's *Pyramus and Thisbe* was introduced into Charles Johnson's *Love in a Forest* (1723), an adaptation of *As You Like It*. On this occasion, however, it was not set to music.

31. For a full list of the songs see Appendix A. A comparison of Lampe's and Leveridge's librettos suggests that some of the lines not marked by italics in the 1716 libretto, yet marked as Airs in the 1745 libretto, may indeed have been sung in 1716. One such instance occurs near the top of page 9 in the 1716 libretto where we have:

This. Tide Life, tide Death { I come without delay, / I go without delay.

Although not marked as such, the text preceded by the bracket is clearly meant to be said / sung by Pyramus and Thisbe together. Lampe has a duet at this point, which is comic because it detains the very characters who say they will not delay. It is not improbable that Leveridge also saw the comic potential of this point. From 11 October onwards it seems that performances of Lampe's *Pyramus and Thisbe* were concluded 'with a New Occasional Song and Chorus composed by Lampe' (LS III ii 1185). This is probably the song 'Tho' rude rebellion rears its head' 'The occasional Song, as it is now perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden Sung by M^{r} Beard'. As these opening words reveal, the song was quite unconnected to *Pyramus and Thisbe*, being concerned, rather, with the Jacobite risings of 1745. The song was also performed at the end of other plays, such as Otway's *Venice Preserved* on 14 October 1745 (LS III ii 1186).

32. *Pyramus and Thisbe: A Mock-Opera written by Shakespeare. Set to Musick by Mr. Lampe. Perform'd at the Theatre-Royal in Covent-Garden*. (London, 1745) 2-3. A facsimile of the libretto can be found at the end of John Frederick Lampe, *Pyramus and Thisbe*, Introduction by Roger Fiske, Music for London Entertainment 1660-1800 Series C Volume III (London, 1988). Neighbarger (p112) erroneously gives the press mark of a copy of the libretto as Ob: Malone MS 151; this reference should read Malone 151(6).

33. The publication is undated. According to William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical works published by the firm of John Walsh during the years 1721-1766* (London, 1968) 205, it was first advertised for sale in the *General Evening Post* for 14-16 February 1745.

34. Noted on page x of the Music for London Entertainment edition cited above (note 32).

35. LS III ii 1148.

36. On 13 April 1748 (LS IV i 44).

37. LS IV i 44, 277 and 424. Another performance advertised for 3 April 1752 had to be cancelled due to indisposition of a singer (LS IV i 304). In the Bell 1774 edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (collected edition p. 200) Francis Gentleman recalls the impact of Lampe's mock-opera: 'We have heard this piece of *Pyramus* and *Thisbe* performed with burlesque music; and in that shape it had a very pleasing effect. The excellence of the several performers, particularly that of Mr *Beard*, in *Pyramus*, cannot be forgot by those who have seen the piece.'

38. LS IV i 467.

39. Three different issues of the word-book were published by J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper in 1755. The earliest, of which there are copies at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Bodleian Library and Cambridge University Library, does not list Lansdowne [George Granville] among the authors on the title-page. It also lacks the prologue, and has a song for Hermia beginning 'Farewell ungrateful traitor', which is replaced in the later editions by 'Come pride, love-disdaining', the lyrics actually set by Smith. (The Folger and Cambridge copies of this issue contain a pasted slip on page 41 indicating the change and supplying the new text.) The Cambridge copy also places the Argument after the Prologue. The second issue, marked 'The Second Edition' on its title-page, includes Garrick's prologue, has a few pages differently laid out, mentions Lansdowne among the authors of the songs and has 'Farewell ungrateful traitor' replaced by 'Come pride, love-disdaining'. In some copies pages 26 and 27 are also misnumbered 27 and 26. The third issue of 1755 is similar to the second except in the layout of pages 17-20 and 28-33, and the correct numbering of pages 26 and 27. There are also four changes in the cast list. Miss Poitier is given her married name Mrs Vernon, whilst Sig [Rosa] Curioni replaces Guadagni as Lysander, Chamnys replaces Wilder as Egeus, and Atkins takes over Demetrius from Vernon. This new cast list probably reflects the personnel for the last two performances of *The Fairies*, which were given in the 1755-56 season. This third issue does not say 'Second Edition' (or any other edition) on its title-page.

40. D. M. Little, G. M. Kahrl and P. dek Wilson (eds), *The Letters of David Garrick* (London, 1963) 3 vols, I 256 (letter 178).

41. Smith and Humphries, op. cit. 306 (no. 1374). Walsh also published two sets of songs from the opera (Smith and Humphries 307 (nos. 1375-76)) and, a few years later, the overture to *The Fairies*. This latter was published, in parts, in Walsh's *Abel Arne and Smith's Six Favourite Overtures*, which was advertised for sale in the *Public Advertiser* 11 November 1763 (Smith and Humphries 257-58 (no. 1155)).

42. Andrew D. McCredie, 'John Christopher Smith as a dramatic composer', *Music and Letters* xlv (1964) 22-38. According to McCredie (p24) the manuscript of *Daphne*, which was not published, is held in Hamburg.

43. These are listed in Appendix A.

44. The tonal scheme of the opera as a whole seems a little haphazard. D major is the principal key area. The overture begins in D minor but ends in D major, which is the key of the opening aria, and of the concluding numbers of the second and third acts. The first act, however, ends in C major, the second starts in F major and the last in A major. With the exception of 'You spotted snakes', which is in C minor throughout, all the arias start in major keys. However, since most are in da capo form, most contain a short contrasting section. In two instances this is in the subdominant major key, but in fives cases it is in the tonic minor, and fourteen times in the relative minor. Just once there is a move to the mediant minor key.

45. LS IV i 467 - IV ii 505 *passim*.

46. Ibid.

47. LS IV i 467.

48. Theophilus Cibber, *Two Dissertations on the Theatres*, (London [1756]) 36.

49. Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of his own life* 4 vols (York, 1790) IV 202.

50. *The Tuner. Letter the fifth*, (London, 1755) 20.

51. Letter to Richard Bentley 23 February 1755 in: W. S. Lewis (ed), *The Yale Edition of Horace Walpole's Correspondence* XXXV (London, 1973) 209-10.

52. William Coxe, *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel, and John Christopher Smith* (London, 1799) 47.

53. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* (edited by Frank Mercer) (London, 1935) II 681. Burney is wrong, however, about Frasi's involvement with *The Fairies*.

54. LS IV ii 526.

55. As stated on the title-page of the 1763 edition published by J. and R. Tonson.

56. For more details see HG II 469.

57. A list of the airs in this adaptation, and in the two versions of *A Fairy Tale* is given in Appendix A.

58. As quoted in Dougald MacMillan, *Drury Lane Calendar 1747-1776* (Oxford, 1938) 100.

59. Odell I 376.

60. Little, Kahrl and Wilson, *The Letters of David Garrick* I 387 (letter 317).

61. LS IV ii 1021.

62. Details are given in George Winchester Stone Jr, '*A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the hands of Garrick and Colman', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America* liv (1939) 473-80, and H. W. Pedicord and F. L. Bergmann (eds), *The Plays of David Garrick* 6 vols (Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1981) IV 420-26. It is interesting to note that Garrick originally intended to include Thomas Arne's popular setting of 'Where the bee sucks'.

63. Pedicord and Bergmann, op. cit. 425.

64. Letter of 24 December 1763 in Little, Kahrl and Wilson, *Letters* I 397 (letter 321).

65. It was first performed on 26 November 1763 (LS IV ii 1022).

66. For more details see HG II 469.

67. As quoted in MacMillan, op. cit. 100.

68. Little, Kahrl and Wilson, op. cit. I 403 (letter 323), written from Naples on 31 January 1764.

69. LS IV ii 1022-1239 *passim*.

70. LS V i 94-95, 97-98, 100. The prompt-copy for this production, a marked-up 1763 Tonson edition of *A Fairy Tale*, survives at the Folger Shakespeare Library (Prompt F 11). A new edition was also published by G. Kearsly in 1777.

71. This is excluding the two songs in BL: Add MS 36944 which have only survived in arrangements by Henry Bishop. Williams, 'The Concord of this Discord' 46, is wrong in asserting that only one of the songs from the 1763 adaptation was published.

72. Printed in *The Favourite new Songs & Duet in the FAIRY TALE, Sung by MISS WRIGHT, & MASTER RAWWORTH, … Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, Compos'd by MICH:^{L} ARNE* (London [1764]).

73. These were published in *SIX SONGS in Harlequin's Invasion, Cymbeline, and Midsummer Night's Dream, etc. As they are SUNG at the THEATRE ROYAL in DRURY LANE … Composed by M^{r}: Aylward* (London [1765]). The words of the second stanza of the duet as set by Aylward are different from those printed in the 1763 play text. Also, in the musical score the singers are listed as Mrs Scot and Mr Vernon, whereas the 1763 play text gives Hermia as Miss Young.

Endnotes for Much Ado About Nothing

1. The fifth most popular (HG II 717).

2. II.iii.48.

3. II.iii.49.

4. II.iii.62-74.

5. V.II.25-28. This is a snatch from a long ballad by William Elderton that was popular in Shakespeare's time, though probably not generally known in the eighteenth century (Seng, 63-65).

6. V.iii.12-21.

7. 9, 10, 11 February 1721. LS II ii 614.

8. 2, 3, 7 November 1737 and 25 May 1739. LS III ii 689-90 and 778. We do not know who played Balthasar at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1721, but at this Covent Garden production he was played by Salway, a noted singer.

9. For details see HG I 341 and Odell I 255-57.

10. The words of all the songs are reproduced in Appendix B.

11. 'GRATIANO solus, in a melancholy Posture. [Slow Musick.' *The Universal Passion* p60.

12. 'Sung by M^{rs} Clive in the Comedy call'd the Universal Passion. Set by M^{r} Handel'. BL copy G309(12) [1737]. It is unclear whether there is any significance in the fact that this song is labelled 'Song' whereas all the others in the play are labelled 'Air'.

13. 28-31 March 1737 and 14 March and 17 April 1741. LS III ii 642-907 *passim*.

14. BD VII 212-13.

15. G&T II 1198 (no. 11648).

16. The setting of 'Pardon, goddess of the night' attributed by Caulfield to Arne is actually Chilcot's non-theatrical setting.

17. Dates of works published by John Walsh are taken from William C. Smith, *A Bibliography of the Musical works published by John Walsh during the years 1695-1720* (London, 1968) and William C. Smith and Charles Humphries, *A Bibliography of the Musical works published by the firm of John Walsh 1721-1766* (London, 1968).

18. *General Advertiser* 29 April 1749.

19. G&T II 1137 (no. 11005).

20. Information from relevant issues of the *General Advertiser*.

21. NG I 605-11.

22. *General Advertiser* 14 March 1737.

23. According to LS V iii 2051 the *Morning Herald* of 16 March 1798 reported that Incledon, a stand-in at Covent Garden the previous night, had sung 'Sigh no more, ladies' 'with much sweetness and effect'.

24. LS V ii 1212 - V iii 2226 *passim*. On 2 February 1799 the glee was apparently cancelled because of bad weather (LS V iii 2144).

25. LS V iii 2074.

26 BD IX 178-81.

27. Ibid.

Endnotes for Pericles

1. These details of publication history taken from *Pericles* edited by J. C. Maxwell (Cambridge, 1956) ix.

2. See, for example, the Arden edition of *Pericles*, edited by F. D. Hoeniger, lii-lxiii.

3. Stage history details taken from Cambridge 1956 edition, xxx-xl.

4. It is only in our present century, however, that *Pericles* has received more regular attention.

5. On 1, 4 and 8 August 1738. LS III ii 725.

6. For details see HG I 374, Odell I 257-59 and *Pericles* (Cambridge, 1956) xxxiii-iv.

7. In Shakespeare's play the first remark is made by Lysimachus (V.i.80).

8. For the complete text see Appendix B.

9. BD XV 171-73 does not list her as a singer, though she did play such roles as Ophelia and Desdemona, which require singing of sorts.

Endnotes for The Taming of the Shrew

1. HG II 717; also I 414 and II 612-13. This excludes the Italian opera *Il duca D'Atene* (premièred at the King's Theatre on 9 May 1780 (LS V i 341), whose libretto is partly based on *The Taming of the Shrew*. The different versions will be fully discussed below.

2. III i 37-44. Hortensio twice attempts to play, but each time is quickly interrupted with remarks of the treble, then the bass, being out of tune.

3. Seng 1-5. For more on the second song see P. J. Croft, 'The "Friar of Order Gray" and the nun', *Review of English Studies* (new series) xxxii (1981) 1-16.

4. 'Sauny' is frequently spelt 'Sawny' or 'Sauney', and advertisements often reverse the order of the main title and its sub-title.

5. LS I 106. It was published in London by E. Whitlock.

6. LS II i 70 - III ii 616 *passim*.

7. For details see HG I 414, also Odell I 39-40.

8. I have been unable to determine the origin of these words.

9. BL: Add MS 35043 ff104-104'. Three of the tunes are found also in *Theater Musick* (I. Walsh: London, [1698]) 8-9: see Price *Restoration Theatre* 220.

10. G&T II 1502 (no. 14679).

11. See also D&M 3496.

12. The words are given in Appendix B.

13. G&T II 1502 (no. 146790).

14. Pressmark L147.5.

15. Folger Prompt S 11. Although the manuscript cast list is that of Goodman's Fields, Langhans (*Promptbooks* 104-05) states that the prompt notes 'are certainly in Chetwood's hand'. Chetwood was the prompter at Drury Lane at the time, so Langhans suggests the promptbook was prepared for Drury Lane but lent for use at Goodman's Fields.

16. For further details see HG I 414 and Odell I 230-32.

17. Charles Johnson, *The Cobler of Preston* (W. Wilkins: London, 1716) 6.

18. Ibid. 11.

19. Ibid. 17.

20. The complete words are given in Appendix B.

21. *The Cobler of Preston* 23.

22. LS II i 387-418 *passim*.

23. The play was first published by R Palmer (London, 1716). Johnson's play was first performed on 3 February 1716 (LS II i 387) and Bullock's on 24 January 1716 (LS II i 386).

24. For further details see HG I 414 and Odell I 229-30.

25. This, of course, is parallel to Ind ii 129-30: 'Your honour's players, hearing your amendment, / Are come to play a pleasant comedy'.

26. For more details of this song, and its original context, see *Don Quixote* (edited by Curtis Price) in Music for London Entertainment 1660-1800 Series A vol II (Richard Macnutt: Tunbridge Wells, 1984).

27. See, for example, the advertisements for 1 and 16 February 1716 (LS II i 387 and 389).

28. LS IV ii 731.

29. Johnson's cobbler also sings at one point, when he sits down to work (p33). However, no lyrics are supplied.

30. For details of these tunes see Simpson 96-97 and 498-99.

31. The words for all four songs are given in Appendix B.

32. Worsdale's authorship has been questioned. See Edmond Gagey, *Ballad Opera* (New York, 1937) 120-21.

33. For details see HG I 414 and Odell I 254-55.

34. As noted at the foot of the page of dramatis personae in the printed edition (London, [1735]), Air V in the first act should be omitted. Air V and Air VII are both given the same lyrics, beginning 'Altho' so fondly Men profess', but different tunes are named. I believe that the tune stated with Air V, 'Altho' I am a Country Lass' is the correct one. I am unable to identify the 'Wally, etc' of Air VII. Because of differences in scansion, this is clearly not the tune 'Waly, Waly' as called for in Air V of the second act.

35. LS III i 463-65, 471, 487 and IV i 185, 194.

36. LS III i 487.

37. Indeed, the prologue printed in the 1756 edition of *Catharine and Petruchio* assumes that this play follows a performance of *The Winter's Tale* since it is, in effect, a joint prologue for the two plays.

38. For further details see HG II 612-13 and Odell I 362.

39. LS IV ii 521 - V iii 2226 *passim*.

40. Indeed, some late eighteenth-century acting editions of *Catharine and Petruchio*, such as that published by R. Butters *c*1788, omit these two songs entirely. They are also cut in a promptbook once owned by John Philip Kemble, and used, possibly, in the 1790s (Furness Shakespeare Library, University of Pennsylvania C59, a photocopy of which is held at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Prompt Shrew Ad 15).

Endnotes for The Tempest

1. HG (II 717-18) places *The Tempest* 10th and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 21st in terms of relative popularity through the eighteenth century. Following Hogan I have excluded from this chapter discussion of *The Shipwreck*, an adaptation of *The Tempest* made for puppets (performed 17 times at the Patagonian Theatre 1779-80) and a pantomime called *The Duke of Milan*, which was given at the Royalty Theatre in 1788.

2. We know from entries in Pepys's diary that the play received its première in November 1667 (LS I 123). It was first published in 1670 (Q70) and then, in a revised form, in 1674 (Q74). In 1674 the play was staged at the Dorset Garden Theatre where, with the help of that theatre's splendid new scenes and machines, together with some additional music, it had been transformed into an English Opera. John Downes (*Roscius Anglicanus* (London, 1708) 34) attributed the alterations to Thomas Shadwell, who contributed the words to Pietro Reggio's new song 'Arise, ye subterranean winds' (as identified in the 1680 publication *Songs set by Pietro Reggio*.) It was this later version of the Davenant-Dryden adaptation (Q74) which was subsequently reprinted several times during the following decades. For a discussion of the authorship of Q70 see Mongi Raddadi, *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare* Studia Anglistica Upsaliensia XXXVI (Uppsala, 1979), and for a comparison of the texts of Q70 and Q74 see *After The Tempest*, introduction by George Robert Guffey (Los Angeles, 1969). Examination of a contemporary libretto of the songs from the 1674 operatic *Tempest* can be found in J. G. McManaway's chapter '*Songs and Masques* in The Tempest' in *Theatre Miscellany* Luttrell Society Reprint no 14 (Oxford, 1953) 69-96.

3. For a summary of the operatic Davenant-Dryden alteration see HG I 422-23, Odell I 31-36 and, particularly, Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London etc, 1984) 62-83.

3a. The fifth-act masque was added in 1674.

4. Writing in his diary for 6-7 November 1667 Pepys describes the Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* as 'the most innocent play that ever I saw, and a curious piece of Musique in an Echo of half-sentences, the Echo repeating the former half while the man goes on to the latter, which is mighty pretty' (*The Diary of Samuel Pepys* edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London, 1974) VIII 522). Pepys later asked Banister to write down for him the tune of this Echo piece 'which pleases me mightily' (*Diary* IX 189 - 7 May 1668).

5. Peter Holman (*Four and Twenty Fiddlers: The Violin at the English Court 1540-1690* (Oxford, 1993) 336-38) argues that three of the act tunes normally ascribed to Matthew Locke were probably composed by Robert Smith, to whom they are attributed in US-NH: Filmer MS 7 ff 23'-24.

6. For a discussion of the music see Peter Dennison, *Pelham Humfrey* (Oxford and New York, 1986) 94-109. Details of contemporary printed and manuscript sources of the music are given in: G&T III 1520 and 1586 (nos. 14859 and 15387 - Banister); 1564-65 (no. 15218 - Purcell);

1589 (no. 15405 - Draghi); 1592-93 (no. 15424 - Hart); 1594 (no 15431 - Humfrey); 1595-96 (no. 15444 - Locke) and 1598-99 (no. 15464 - Reggio). All the music has been transcribed and edited by Michael Tilmouth in *Matthew Locke: Dramatic Music* Musica Britannica LI (London, 1986).

7. Margaret Laurie, 'Did Purcell set "The Tempest"?', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* xc (1963-64) 43-57.

8. As quoted in Laurie op. cit. 52. The advertisement actually appeared on 30 July. The *London Stage* fails to record these words for this performance, first noting them only for the following performance on 7 August (LS II i 409).

9. LS II i 266.

10. References to the music in the Purcell/Weldon setting are to the edition by Edward J. Dent, originally published by the Purcell Society in 1912 and subsequently reprinted separately by Novello (not dated). A full list of sources for this setting of *The Tempest* is given in Franklin B. Zimmermann, *Henry Purcell, 1659-1695: An Analytical Catalogue of his Music* (London, 1963) 336-37. It should be noted that whereas the various manuscript scores may have had their origins in theatrical sources, the publication by Harrison *c*1786 *The Musick in the Comedy of the Tempest*, is quite clearly a 'scholarly' edition of the music, not representing actual theatrical practice. The only manuscript which shows evidence of theatrical use is BL: Add MS 37027, which is also the only manuscript dating from the early decades of the eighteenth century.

11. Zimmermann op. cit. 337.

12. Laurie op. cit. 44. One of these dances, the 'Salors Dance', is found only in BL: Add MS 37027 (f18). It is not present in the Dent edition.

13. Laurie op. cit. 45-46. Also G&T III 1507-08 (no. 14702).

14. BD XV 58-59. He is listed as singing Neptune in the *Daily Courant* advertisement for the performance on 31 July 1716. It cannot be certain that the part was written for him but, since earlier advertisements fail to mention the masque and its singers, he is the first singer advertised in this part.

15. Timings based on the recordings made by Christopher Hogwood and the Academy of Ancient Music (Locke/Humfrey) and John Eliot Gardiner with the Monteverdi Choir and Orchestra (Purcell/Weldon). The Locke/Humfrey setting is significantly shorter, however, if the act tunes are omitted.

16. See, for example, the advertisements for performances of the play at Drury Lane on 5 March 1705 (LS II i 119), 1 January 1707 (LS II i 136) and 21 January 1707 (LS II i 138).

17. When Kemble reintroduced some Davenant-Dryden elements into his 1789 production of *The Tempest* he used only sections of the two masques, as will be discussed later in this chapter.

18. LS II ii 728.

19. LS II ii 927.

20. LS II ii 656.

21. LS III ii 868.

22. Mrs Sibilla (or Sybilla) was the stage name of the German soprano Sibilla Gronaman, who had sung in Arne's *The Temple of Dullness, Rosamond* and *Alfred* in 1745 (BD XIV 357).

23. Immediately following this masque is an incompletely scored setting of 'Wide o'er this bright Aerial scene', which Neighbarger (p109) lists as belonging to *The Tempest*. It in fact belongs to Arne's *Britannia* of 1755.

24. Slava Klima, Garry Bowers and Kerry S. Grant (eds), *Memoirs of Dr Charles Burney 1726-1769* (Lincoln and London, 1988) Fragment 40, p63.

25. Abraham Rees, *The Cyclopædia; or, Universal Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, and Literature* 39 vols (London, 1819) XI.

26. In the same fragment that contains the other anecdote quoted above: *Memoirs* Fragment 40, p63.

27. *The Songs in The Tempest or the Enchanted Isleland As they were perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane by M^rs^ Clive and M^rs^ Mozeen. Set to Musick by W^m^ Defesch.* (London [1746]). I am grateful to Evan Owens and Elizabeth Gibson for drawing my attention to these songs, after which I wrote my article 'Defesch's "Tempest" Songs' in the *Musical Times* cxxvii (1986) 325-27. At the time I was unaware of the Burney anecdotes, and I should like to thank John Parkinson for informing me about these. However, I disagree with Parkinson's interpretation of the events, as expressed in a letter to the *Musical Times* in August 1986 (p427). He suggests that Defesch's songs were written not for the 1746 production but 'for a later revival'. The later revivals in which Mrs Clive played Ariel were of the Davenant-Dryden alteration, whereas Defesch's songs were clearly written for Shakespeare's play. One of these songs, 'While you here do snoring lie', belongs to a scene cut in the alteration, and the text Defesch set of 'Where the bee sucks' is the Shakespearean version (with Lewis Theobald's emendations) rather than the altered lyrics in Davenant and Dryden's play. Parkinson also suggests that Arne's 'Where the bee sucks', although first published in 1746, may have been written for the 1740 production. However, Burney's anecdotes imply that Arne's song was composed for Mrs Clive, and she only first took on the role of Ariel in 1746. In 1740 it was played by Miss Cole (LS III ii 868).

28. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* IV (London, 1789) 670.

29. This is the position it occupies in later *Tempest* productions.

30. For example, the natural stresses in the opening words 'Where the bee sucks' fall on 'where' and 'bee'. By using triple rather than duple metre Defesch has the word 'sucks' on the first beat of the second bar, thereby giving it undue emphasis.

31. It was performed on 31 January, 1, 4, 5 and 18 February, and 19 May (LS III ii 1215-16, 1219 and 1241).

32. Entry on Defesch in Rees's *Cyclopædia*.

33. LS III ii 1152-1302 *passim*.

34. LS IV i 21.

35. LS IV i 194.

36. LS IV ii 526.

37. Tate Wilkinson, *Memoirs of his own Life* 4 vols (York, 1790) IV 213. The garland dance (not part of the opera) is only noted in the advertisements from the second performance onwards (LS IV ii 526), and the opera was only followed by *Fortunatus* at its last performance, on 16 March 1756 (LS IV ii 531).

38. There is debate about Garrick's involvement in the libretto, which he himself denied (in a letter to James Murphy French, 7 December 1756). For further discussion see the section on *The Fairies* in the chapter on *A Midsummer Night's Dream* above.

39. It received eleven performances between 3 February and 7 November 1755 (LS IV i 467 - LS IV ii 505 *passim*.)

40. 11, 13, 18, 20, 26 February and 16 March 1756 (LS IV ii 526-28 and 531).

41. William Coxe, *Anecdotes of George Frederick Handel, and John Christopher Smith* (London, 1799) 47.

42. LS IV ii 526.

43. George Winchester Stone Jr, 'Shakespeare's *Tempest* at Drury Lane during Garrick's management', *Shakespeare Quarterly* vii (1956) 3.

44. Theophilus Cibber, *Two Dissertations on the Theatres* (London [1756]) 36. Although the opera has one trio, there are no devils and no Sycorax.

45. For more details see HG II 636 and Odell I 362-65.

46. Larpent MS 123.

47. LS IV ii 526.

48. Ibid.

49. Dougald MacMillan, *Catalogue of the Larpent Plays in the Huntington Library* (San Marino, 1939) 22.

50. Andrew D. McCredie, 'John Christopher Smith as a dramatic composer', *Music and Letters* xlv (1964) 26.

51. *Clio and Euterpe* II (London, 1759) 110.

52. William Coxe, (*Anecdotes* p48) comments: 'It must not be omitted, that when the Tempest, set to music by Purcell, was represented at the Concert of Ancient Music, the celebrated air, "Full fathom five", by Smith, was substituted for that of the original composer. It was universally admired, and has ever since been retained.' Lcm: MS 990, which has music from the Purcell/Weldon setting, contains this substitution of 'Full fathom five' transposed down a semitone to D major, but with the chorus of the earlier setting added on.

53. On f30. Dated 1797, it was copied by R. J. S. Stevens.

54. LS IV ii 621.

55. The autograph manuscript of this masque is at Ob: MS Mus d 14. There is a copy at Lcm: MS 92.

56. Newspaper cast lists name only Hymen and Ceres in the Masque, whereas the 1774 Bell edition of *The Tempest* assigns the opening eight lines to Juno. The autograph score, however, reveals that the introductory recitative was in fact sung by Ariel.

57. These books were available from the opening night onwards (LS IV ii 621) and were still being advertised in playbills as late as 2 December 1771 (playbill at the Birmingham Central Library).

58. According to its title-page.

59. For further details see HG II 637.

60. The repeat of the words beginning 'Honour, riches, marriage, blessing' occurs four lines too late in the Bell edition, and the first designation 'Recitative' is eight lines too early.

61. Smith set the five lines as given in the Bell edition. Arne and Defesch used a different opening word, and set only four of the lines.

62. This is particularly true of 'Come unto these yellow sands' and 'Full fathom five'.

63. *The Morning Post, and Daily Advertiser*, 28 December 1776.

64. *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespear's Plays* (London [1864]) vol I, believed to have been issued separately *c*1825 (Charles Humphries and William C. Smith, *Music Publishing in the*

British Isles From the Beginning until the Middle of the Nineteenth Century 2nd edition (Oxford, 1970) 100).

65. Alfred Roffe, *The Handbook of Shakespeare Music* (London, 1878) 77.

66. John A. Parkinson, *An Index to the Vocal Works of Thomas Augustine Arne and Michael Arne* (Detroit, 1972) 10.

67. Vernon is first listed as Ferdinand 'with proper song' (later 'songs') on 30 October 1762 (LS IV ii 959); Champness as Caliban 'with songs' on 5 May 1767 (LS IV ii 1242); Mrs Baddeley as Miranda 'with a song' on 16 March 1769 (LS IV ii 1391) and Mrs Smith as Miranda 'with a new song' on 12 May 1773 (LS IV ii 1722).

68. LS IV ii 1233.

69. LS IV ii 621.

70. *The Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser* for 27 December 1776.

71. LS V i 47 - 257 *passim*.

72. LS V i 49. Sheridan and Thomas Linley Senior were joint managers of Drury Lane at the time, though Sheridan has traditionally been associated with making the alterations to the play. The only 'proof' we have of Sheridan's direct involvement concerns catalogue entries seen by W. A. Harrison, referring to printed *Tempest* song texts 'altered by R. B. Sheridan' (J. Greenhill, W. A. Harrison and Frederick J. Furnivall (eds), *A List of all the Songs and Passages in Shakespeare which have been set to Music* (London, 1884) xx). Harrison did not see an actual copy of the song booklet. If the entries refer to the copies of the 8-page *Songs and Chorusses in the Tempest* (London, 1777) the attribution to Sheridan must have been made independently; there is no mention of Sheridan in the 1777 publication.

73. LS V i 49 - 87 *passim*.

74. Acc. # 709081. The promptbook was prepared by William Hopkins (Edward A. Langhans, *Eighteenth Century British and Irish Promptbooks* (New York, 1987) 190).

75. LS V i 50.

76. Ibid.

77. LS V i 49.

78. The promptbook was prepared after the initial season.

79. BL MS Egerton 2493 fols 2 - 57. At the end is written 'J S Gaudry 1780 scripsit'.

80. Jackson's Quartetto was first published in *Six Quartets Op 11* (no 6) (London, n. d.). The *British Library Catalogue of Printed Music* and the *British Union-Catalogue of Early Music* both give a publication date of *c*1780, but the piece was certainly known several years earlier. Neighbarger

(p182) is clearly confused about the relationship between Arne's song, Jackson's Quartetto, and Linley's chorus.

81. The BD entry on Ann Field (V 240 - 42) assigns her no date of birth, but notes that this was her first theatrical role.

82. Neighbarger (p181 Ex. 35) has mistakenly assigned the obbligato part in 'O bid your faithful Ariel fly' to a flute rather than oboe.

83. Although the piece is written out in A major in Egerton 2493 it has been marked 'In F'. Later printed copies of the song present it in F major.

84. *Songs and Chorusses in the Tempest, as it is Performed at the Theatre Royal in Drury-Lane* (London, 1777). There are two extant copies of the booklet, one at the Folger Library and the other at the Huntington Library.

85. *Songs and Chorusses* p5.

86. As written at the foot of p278 in the promptbook.

87. *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespear's Plays* (London, [1864]) I 15-16.

88. LS V iii 1940.

89. Compare *A Collection of the Vocal Music in Shakespear's Plays* vol I p16 with vol II p90.

90. William Chappell, *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London, 1855-59) I 200-01.

91. The words given in *Songs and Chorusses* p6 differ slightly from those in the First Folio. However, the differences lie in those lines which Caulfield has omitted.

92. *The Public Advertiser* for 6 January 1777.

93. Edwin M. Ripin and others, *Early Keyboard Instruments* The New Grove Musical Instrument Series (London, 1989) 185. See also BD X 201-02.

94. Neighbarger (p176) describes the instrument as 'with strings at 4, 8, and 16-foot pitch activated by both piano and harpsichord actions', but he gives no authority for this statement.

95. LS V i 114. The promptbook at the New York Public Library, as already noted, was clearly prepared after the initial season, since it shows the storm chorus in its revised position.

96. LS V ii 982.

97. LS V i 1197-98.

98. J. Debrett also published a 15-page booklet: *The Airs, Chorusses, etc. in The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island, As it is now Performed at the Theatre-Royal, Drury Lane* (London, 1789). There is a unique copy of this booklet at the Birmingham Central Library (S 347.31789).

99. For fuller details of the exact changes see HG II 638.

100. Linley omits Jackson's section which has additional words and is set in G minor. Although neither the 1789 nor 1807 printed texts of the play supply these extra words, nineteenth-century musical sources make it clear that Jackson's full setting was used for the 1807 production. However, since quite a few changes were made musically for the later production, that does not preclude Linley's version from possibly having been used in 1789.

101. Words taken from the musical score (published by Longman and Broderip, London n. d.). There are minor textual differences in the 1789 printed play and word-book of the songs.

102. LS V iii 1599, 1603, 1608, 1610.

Endnotes for Twelfth Night

1. LS II i 31, 89.

2. Concerning authorship of this work see F. E. Budd (ed), *The Dramatic Works of William Burnaby* (London, 1931) 5.

3. For fuller summaries see Odell I 81-82, HG I 454 and Budd, op. cit. 96-100.

4. G&T (III 1871, no. 18268) mention only one song.

5. The complete text is given in Appendix B.

6. Caesario, the Duke's page, is in fact Viola dressed up as a boy.

7. LS II i 31 states that the play was published on 11 Feb 1703, and so conjectures a première that month. LS II (r) suggests mid to late January.

8. The words of the song differ slightly from those in the playbook. The text of this song, with variants, is given in Appendix B.

9. Copy at Ob: Harding Mus E 119 (36). This collection also contains 'If I hear Orinda swear' (99). Both of Eccles's songs were published in *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 2nd edition IV (London, 1709) pp 177-78 and 205. See also D&M nos. 545 and 1681.

10. Budd, op. cit. 448.

11. BL: Hirsch M 1475(1). The words of this song are given in Appendix B.

12. BL: G 310(16). There is a slightly later edition at G 425 rr(25).

13. LS II (r) 204; also LS II i 89.

14. *A Bibliography of the Musical Works Published by John Walsh during the Years 1695-1720* (London, 1968) p36 no 118.

15. Price, *Restoration Theatre* 191.

16. Except the final 'Round O' which seems to end in B minor. Presumably a more elaborate repeat scheme was in use here. A complete set of parts can be found at Lcm: XXIX.A.11(19).

17. LS III ii 881.

18. For details of the origins of these lines see Seng 101-04.

19. For details see Seng 105-08.

20. Details in Seng 123-30.

21. C.136.bb.10. It is marked 'Feb Ye 15th 1798. Corrected TRDL Powell/Prompter'.

22. G&T III 1711 (no. 16621).

23. LS IV iii 1621.

24. LS V i 66.

25. *The Life of Mrs Jordan* (London, 1831) I 79.

26. LS IV ii 1014.

27. *The New Songs in the Pantomime of the Witches the celebrated Epilogue in the comedy of Twelfth Night A Song in the Two Gentlemen of Verona ... Sung by Mr Vernon at Vauxhall Composed by J. Vernon To which are added ... a favourite French Air Sung in the Comedy of Twelfth Night by M^rs^ Abington* (John Johnston: London [1772]).

28. LS IV iii 1591-92.

29. See note 26 above for details. The words are given in Appendix B.

30. Black Box 39.

31. For the words see Appendix B.

32. Copies at Oxford (Harding G 410) and the British Library. These have the simple heading 'Sung by M^rs^ Abington in Twelfth Night'. As I have just explained, I believe this to be misleading.

33. LS V ii 783.

34. LS V ii 841.

35. LS IV iii 1621.

36. LS V ii 1451.

37. Ibid.

Endnotes for The Two Gentlemen of Verona

1. HG I 461.

2. LS III i 516.

3. For further details see HG II 672 and Odell I 374-75.

4. Thurio: 'I have a sonnet that will serve the turn' (III ii 92).

5. See, for example, Arden edition (edited by Clifford Leech) p86 note to line 37 and New Penguin edition (edited by Norman Sanders) p180 note to line 37.

6. LS IV ii 969.

7. The song is contained in: *The New Songs in the Pantomime of the Witches. The celebrated Epilogue in the Comedy of Twelfth Night. A Song in the Two Gentlemen of Verona And two Favourite Ballads. Sung by M^r^. Vernon at Vauxhall Composed by J. Vernon* ... London: John Johnston [1772]. From this title-page it seems that Vernon was the composer of the song.

8. HG II 672.

9. LS IV ii 969.

10. LS IV ii 969-76 *passim*.

11. Genest VI 312.
12. HG II 672-73.
12a. For details of this ballad see Simpson 96-101 and Albert B. Friedman (ed), The Penguin Book of Folk Ballads of the English-Speaking World (Harmondsworth, 1977) 276-84.
13. LS V ii 1220.

14. LS V ii 1220, 1221, 1261.

15. *The Life of Mrs Jordan* 2 vols (London, 1831) I 171.

16. *John Philip Kemble: The Actor in His Theatre* (New York, 1942 R/1969) 163.

17. *The History of the Theatres of London ... 1771 to 1795* 2 vols (London, 1796) II 55.

18. HG II 672.

19. LS V ii 1220, 1221, 1261.

Endnotes for The Winter's Tale.

1. According to HG II 718 it was the ninth most popular of Shakespeare's comedies in the second half of the eighteenth century.

2. Seng 247 likens this dance to an antimasque, in contrast to the 'masque' dance of shepherds and shepherdesses.

3. Seng 245.

4. See G&T III 1908. This direction is present in Thomas Hull's alteration of Shakespeare's play, as published by John Bell in 1773.

5. LS III ii 881-84 and 902.

6. LS III ii 942 and 961.

7. LS III ii 881.

8. LS III ii 942.

9. LS III ii 961.

10. Ibid.

11. According to J. H. P. Pafford, 'Music, and Songs in *The Winter's Tale*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* x (1959) 161-69, the tune of 'Jog on, jog on' first appears in the Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, but as a set of variations by Richard Farnaby and entitled 'Hanskin'. (For a modern transcription see *Musica Britannica* XXIV no. 58 pp134-38.) This tune was first printed in the first part of John Playford's *The English Dancing Master* in 1651. It was later arranged by John Hilton, and appears in *Catch that Catch Can, or, The Musical Companion* (1667) 85. A setting of 'Lawn as white as driven snow' was made by John Wilson, and first published in *Cheerful Ayres or Ballads* (Oxford, 1660 [for 1659]) 64-66. Pafford speculates: 'Wilson, born in 1585 or 1595 was composing long before 1659 and could well have composed the setting ... in 1611'. For claims of Robert Johnson's authorship of this piece, though, see G&T III 1949 (no. 19025). The third song, 'Get you hence', can be found in two manuscripts at the New York Public Library: MS Drexel 4175 and MS Drexel 4041. John P. Cutts, 'An Unpublished contemporary setting of a Shakespeare song', *Shakespeare Survey* ix (1956) 86, attributes this music to Robert Johnson. (See also G&T III 1943-44 (no. 18961).)

12. The claim was made by Dennis R. Martin, *The Operas and Operatic Style of John Frederick Lampe* (Detroit, 1985) 65. (See also G&T 1925 (no. 18804).) Neighbarger (p114) assigns the songs to Covent Garden 1742, but gives no evidence to back this assertion.

13. Copies of both these songs can be found in the Ob: Mus 5 c 80 (7) ('But shall I go mourn') and Mus 5 c 80 (70) ('Jog on, jog on').

14. See BD III 158-62 on Thomas Chapman and BD XVI 312-21 on Richard Yates.

15. LS III ii 881.

16. LS III ii 877 and BD X 165-66.

17. LS III ii 905.

18. Although 'When daisies pied' originates from *Love's Labour's Lost* it had been introduced into performances of *As You Like It*. For more information on these songs see the chapter on *As You Like It*.

19. Johnson's play received its première at Drury Lane on 4 February 1715 (LS II i 341). Following this one performance it was not staged again until 11 May 1730 (LS III i 58). After this, however, it was performed quite regularly until 29 April 1778 (LS V i 166). Two copies of Barrett's Sheep-shearing ballad are to be found at the British Library (G 313 (75) and H 1601 (478)). It is unclear how often this song was included in performances of the play. Prior to 1750 there is only one mention of the song: for the performance of *The Country Lasses* at Covent Garden on 26 December 1747 the advertisements state: 'to contain the Original *Sheep Shearing Song* (New set by Arne)' (LS IV i 278). Arne's setting of this piece (published in *Vocal Melody* Book 4 [1752]) was an immediate success at the Pleasure Gardens. This is attested to by an advertisement in the *Dublin Journal* (28 July-1 August 1752) cited by Brian Boydell in *A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760* (Black Rock, Co. Dublin, 1988) 168: for a concert at the Malborough Bowling Green in Dublin on 3 August 1752 we learn that the countertenor Daniel Sullivan sang 'The new Sheep-shearing Song that was performed 60 Nights with universal Applause at the Gardens in London, composed by Mr Arne'.

20. LS III i 437-565 *passim* for performances at Goodman's Fields. The play was first staged at Covent Garden on 27 March 1739 (LS III ii 766) and was performed eight more times until 16 December 1740 (LS III ii 766-874 *passim*). It was acted again at Covent Garden on 5 May 1741 (LS III ii 914).

21. See LS IV i 416 - V iii 2069 *passim*. Because of the use of sub-titles it is sometimes difficult to determine which adaptation was being staged. I have used Hogan's identifications.

22. On 18 July 1777 (LS V i 94) and 20 and 27 August 1783 (LS V i 628-29).

23. LS IV iii 1543 and LS IV iii 1632. Charles Marsh's adaptation was privately printed in 1756.

24. LS IV i 416. The play is often referred to by its sub-title *Florizel and Perdita*.

25. For more details see HG II 674 and Odell I 357.

26. The words of these extra songs are given in Appendix B.

27. HG II 674 states that the Dublin 1767 edition is a reprint of that published by Peter Wilson in 1755. I have been unable to see a copy of the 1755 edition; according to the ESTC the only British copy of this edition is in the National Library of Ireland in Dublin. The ESTC also lists a 1747 edition, housed at the Folger Shakespeare Library (pressmark PR 2821 1750). This is an erroneous ESTC entry as the Folger copy is of a 1767 edition. (The error arose, presumably, through a misreading of the publication date, which is given in roman numerals.)

28. Facsimile editions of this and the 1771 copy of the play were published by the Cornmarket Press in 1969. The ESTC queries the validity of the imprints, but without giving reasons or alternatives.

29. According to the ESTC so does the Dublin edition of 1755.

30. LS IV ii 833-935 *passim*.

31. This is assuming that the lyrics are present in the 1755 edition.

32. The early performance history of this play is a little unclear, Brian Boydell (*A Dublin Musical Calendar 1700-1760*) mentions performances of the play at Smock Alley between 12 May 1755 and 27 March 1758, though without noting its author. Esther K. Sheldon (*Thomas Sheridan of Smock-Alley* (Princeton, 1967), p420), whilst listing these performances, wrongly attributes the play to David Garrick.

33. See, for example, the advertisements for 25 March 1754 (LS IV i 416) and 13 March 1758 (LS IV ii 653).

34. For example, 'Maranesi, Sga Bugiani etc' are listed as the 'Dancing Shepherds and Shepherdesses' for 25 March 1754 (LS IV i 416), Gallini apparently performed 'a *New Dance*, adapted to the Comedy' on 13 March 1758 (LS IV ii 653), 'Delaistre, etc' were involved in the '*Pastoral* Dance incident to the farce' on 24 March 1759 (LS IV ii 717) and there was a '*New Rural Dance* by Poitier Jr, and Mlle Capdeville, etc' on 22 December 1760 (LS IV ii 833).

35. For example, a few weeks after Morgan's play was first performed, in between the acts of *Henry V* on 17 April 1754 Shuter, Mrs Lampe and Miss Young apparently sang a trio from *Florizel and Perdita* (LS IV i 420). At the première of Morgan's play these three singers had taken the parts of Autolycus, Mopsa and Dorcas. There can be no doubt that they sang the piece 'Get you hence, for I must go'. Although the trio is specifically mentioned again only once, for 11 February 1790 (LS V ii 1226), on many other occasions there is the general comment 'The Vocal Parts' followed by the names of one man and two women, the vocal distribution needed for the trio. As was noted earlier, there is some doubt about the validity of the title-page imprint of the 1762 edition of Morgan's play. Thus, the edition as a whole cannot be given too much authority. Also, the version of the play published by John Bell in 1784 is supplied with the

dramatis personae for recent productions in Dublin and Edinburgh, but not for London. Thus, its authority, too, must be questioned in relation to London performances of Morgan's play.

36. As noted in LS IV ii 833. There is some speculation that two songs by Dr Arnold inserted into Colman's adaptation of the play, and sung by Florizel, may originate from the 1760s. See Irene Dash, 'Garrick or Colman?' *Notes and Queries* xviii (1971) 152-55 and Harry William Pedicord, 'George Colman's Adaptation of Garrick's Promptbook for *Florizel and Perdita*' *Theatre Survey* xxii (Nov 1981) 185-90.

37. LS IV ii 924.

38. LS IV iii 1317.

39. For example on 12 May 1798 (LS V iii 2069).

40. For more details see HG II 675 and Odell I 360-61. The earliest publication of Garrick's play is given by Hogan as an edition printed by J. and R. Tonson in 1756, which he says was reprinted in 1758. The *London Stage* for 23 January 1756 (LS IV ii 522) notes the imminent publication of Garrick's play. The ESTC, however, does not list any extant copies of the 1756 edition, and I know of none.

41. G&T III 1910 (no 18678) give the *London Magazine or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (February 1756) as the earliest source. However, Michael Arne's *The Violet A Collection of XII English Ballads Compos'd by Mr Arne Jun^r^ Book II* was advertised in the *London Evening-Post* for January 20-22 1756.

42. The edition of Garrick's play published by C. Bathurst and others in 1785 omits the third and fourth stanzas. Just the third stanza is cut in Colman's adaptation of *The Winter's Tale* as also in *The Vocal Magazine; or, British Songster's Miscellany* (London, 1779) song 579. I am puzzled by the fact that advertisements for performances of Garrick's play at Drury Lane in 1788 and 1789 state that the song was sung in the first act rather than the second. I have seen no texts which show what this new position was.

43. G&T III 1909-10 erroneously state that the work was not published in Boyce's *Lyra Britannica* (6 vols 1749-59). It is, in fact, the opening piece in the fifth volume of *Lyra Britannica*. This volume was first advertised for sale in the *London Evening-Post* of 5-7 February 1756, which noted: 'in which is the Trio in the Winter's Tale'. All six volumes of *Lyra Britannica* are published in facsimile, with an introduction by Robert J. Bruce, in Music for London Entertainment 1660-1800 Series F vol III (Richard Macnutt: Tunbridge Wells, 1985). G&T comment that in *Clio and Euterpe, or British Harmony* III (London [1762]) the song is attributed to Dr. Arne. This is clearly a misattribution: all other publications cite Boyce as the composer.

44. From 15 March 1768 (LS IV iii 1317) onwards several of the advertisements for Morgan's play list three singers (one male, two female) under 'vocals'. This is in contrast to the lack of such information in earlier advertisements.

45. The same prologue was published in editions of both *Florizel and Perdita* and *Catharine and Petruchio*.

46. LS V iii 1816-17.

47. For details see HG II 675-76.

48. The 1758 J. and R. Tonson edition of Garrick's *Florizel and Perdita* which Colman marked up in order to create his own adaptation is preserved at the Folger Shakespeare Library, Prompt F 23. See also Irene Dash 'Garrick or Colman?' and Harry W. Pedicord 'George Colman's Adaptation of Garrick's Promptbook for *Florizel and Perdita*'.

49. The words of both songs are given in Appendix B.

50. These are marked as by 'Dr Arnold' in the published edition of the play (London, 1777).

51. Linley's two-volume work was published in about 1816 (BL dating). Caulfield's collection appeared in about 1864, but the separate plays were first printed individually in about 1825 (see G&T III 2174-75 (no. 21311)).

52. Linley II 22.

53. Ritson suplies the tune unaccompanied, whereas Linley and Caulfield provide accompaniments.

54. Morgan also has a fourth stanza, beginning 'The linen, by her fingers prest', of which Ritson makes no comment. I assume it is another stanza to 'When daffodils begin to peer', although it has two extra lines at the end.

55. Colman does not include Morgan's additional lines; Garrick omits Shakespeare's third stanza.

56. Arne is mentioned as the composer of the songs both on the title-pages of the various editions, and in the earlier advertisements for performances of Morgan's play.

57. Specifically that published by C. Bathurst and others in 1785.

58. The tune of 'When daffodils begin to peer' is given in G major in both Linley and Caulfield, but in F major in Ritson.

59. The different adaptations all give the complete Shakespeare text, as does *The Vocal Magazine; or, British Songster's Miscellany* (1779) song 154, where it is headed 'Sung in the *Sheep-Shearing*'.

Endnotes for Henry IV Part I

1. HG II 717, I 460.
2. Printed for R. W. (London, 1700).
3. LS I 522.
4. III i 238.
5. Bell 43.
6. Price 239.
7. Price 241.
8. XXIX A.11.
9. NG IV Owain Edwards, 'Corbett' 761-62; XIV Ian Spink, 'Paisible' 96-97.
10. Price 176.
11. Price 186.
12. Neighbarger 64-65.
13. G&T I 432 (no. 4326); I 453 (no. 4496).
14. LS I 522, 523; II i 79.
15. LS II i 81.
16. LS II i 81.
17. NG as note 9.
18. Ibid.
19. Christopher Wordsworth, *Social life at the English Universities in the Eighteenth century* (London, 1874) p283 states: 'At *Oxford* the Act is the first Tuesday in July, and corresponds with our Commencement, being the occasion when the *acts* or exercises were finished, qualifying students to *commence* as Bachelors of Arts. The public Commencements at Oxford were scarcely less frequent than with us [that is at Cambridge]; but they created considerable interest in the country at large'. This statement is corroborated by a play about the Oxford Act written by Thomas Baker. Published by Bernard Lintott in London in 1704 it is simply entitled *An Act at Oxford*. On page two of the play the character Bloom comments: 'Why faith, this Publick Act has drawn hither half the Nation'.
20. In *The Compleat Instructor to the Flute* II the tunes are written in D minor, whereas in US NH: Filmer MS 9, and also the Cambridge Magdalene partbooks, they are in C minor. For a list of concordances for these tunes see Price 170. Price, however, fails to note the presence of the

seventh act tune on p3 of *The Compleat Instructor*. These act tunes are mentioned neither by Neighbarger nor by Gooch and Thatcher.

21. G&T I 440 (no. 4400).

22. LS II ii 814.

23. The song was sung with various plays in 1725 and 1726, including *The Country Wife*, *The Committee* and *King Lear*. For a list of all performances see LS Index 670.

24. G&T I 440 (no. 4400).

Endnotes for Henry IV Part II

1. HG II 718.

2. HG I 179-94.

3. Folger Prompt 2 Hen IV 2.

4. William Linley, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* (London [1816]) II Introduction p22.

Endnotes for Henry V

1. LS III ii 1103.
2. LS V ii 1400.
3. LS II ii 563.
4. LS III ii 1244-45.
5. LS II ii 748.

Endnotes for Henry VI Part I

1. LS III ii 707.

Endnotes for Henry VI Part II

1. LS II ii 710-12 (15-25 February).

Endnotes for Henry VI Part III

1. LS II ii 729.

2. Ibid.

Endnotes for Henry VIII

1. For a list of all the acting editions and their relationship to each other see HG I 204 and II 294-95.

2. Prompt Henry VIII 22. Edward Langhans (*Eighteenth Century British and Irish Promptbooks* (New York, 1987) 155) suggests that a Huntington Library promptbook (no 479161 - not 479150 as erroneously printed by Langhans), which belonged to Sarah Siddons, was used for the Drury Lane production on 25 November 1788(?). The copy lacks a title-page, which would have revealed that the printed book is in fact an edition of 1804 and that, therefore, this is not an eighteenth-century promptbook.

3. Page 56.

4. LS II i cxix.

5. Thomas Davies, *Memoirs of the Life of Garrick* 2 vols (London, 1780) I 320-22 (quoted also in LS IV ii 892-93).

6. Odell I 307.

7. It was performed seven times, between 11 and 19 December 1727 (LS II ii 949-51).

8. Bell edition note to p54.

9. LS III ii 1142.

10. BL: RM 21.c.43(2). This Coronation Anthem is not listed by Gooch and Thatcher, while Neighbarger (93 and 293) wrongly attributes the music to Drury Lane ?1726.

11. LS V i 382.

12. Introduction pp22-23

13. LS V ii 1112-1119.

14. LS V iii 2174.

15. LS IV i 382.

16. LS V iii 1547.

17. IV ii 78-80.

18. The 1762 acting edition, which states: 'As it is Performed at the Theatre-Royal in *Drury-Lane*', places the song in the third act. However, the advertisements clearly refer to the fourth act.

19. Folger Prompt Henry VIII 22 p56.

20. Neighbarger 111.

21. LS IV ii 516-892 *passim*.

22. LS IV i 306.

23. LS IV i 107.

24. LS IV i 201.

25. LS IV i 175.

26. LS IV i 382.

27. Folger Prompt Henry VIII 22 p56.

28. Edward Langhams, op. cit. 158.

29. LS IV iii 1746.

30. Note to pp37-38.

31. In the early nineteenth century Kemble introduced the song 'Angels ever bright and fair' from Handel's oratorio *Theodora* for Patience.

32. LS V ii 785.

Endnotes for King John

1. II ii opening.

2. LS III ii 904.

3. Esther K. Sheldon, *Thomas Sheridan of Smock-Alley* (Princeton, 1967) 110 note 15.

4. Folger: PR 2818 Sh. Col.

5. LS III ii 1295.

6. LS IV i 405.

7. LS IV i 405, 406-7, 408 and 414.

Endnotes for Richard II

1. LS II ii 559-643 *passim*.

2. LS III ii 701-96 *passim*.

3. V v 41.

4. Folger Prompt RII Second Folio.

Endnotes for Richard III

1. HG II 716.

2. LS III i 378.

Endnotes for Antony and Cleopatra

1. LS I 265. Dryden's play is more an 'imitation' of Shakespeare's style than a true adaptation of Antony and Cleopatra.
2. George Winchester Stone Jr, 'Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra', *Review of English Studies* xiii (1937) 29.
3. Ibid. 36.
4. The full song is given in Appendix B, where it will be seen that the words of the original song have been distributed between the two new stanzas.
5. *Antony and Cleopatra*, Tonson edition 1758, page 29.
6. Arguably, however, there may have been no music. On seeing the eunuch, Mardian, Cleopatra may simply have changed her mind.
7. Antony and Cleopatra, Tonson edition 1758, page 34.
8. Neighbarger 111.

Endnotes for Coriolanus

1. HG II 718.

2. David Roston notes several contemporary accolades in 'John Philip Kemble's *Coriolanus* and *Julius Caesar*. An examination of the prompt copies', *Theatre Notebook* xxiii (1968) 26. Kemble did, however, revive *Coriolanus* in 1806.

3. This is excluding Ariosti's opera *Coriolano*, which was performed at the King's Theatre between 19 February 1723 and 15 April 1732. (See LS II ii 711 to III i 206 *passim*.)

4. LS II ii 519-20, 555, 562, 601, 605, 623, 644, 655.

5. 11, 12, 13 November 1719 (LS II ii 555). The play was published by J. Pemberton in 1720.

6. Ten performances January 1749 (LS IV i 89-92). Thomson's alteration, published by A. Millar in 1749, is really a new play in its own right. However, material from Thomson was combined with Shakespeare for later adaptations.

7. Odell I 355.

8. Esther K. Sheldon, 'Sheridan's *Coriolanus*: An 18th-Century Compromise', *Shakespeare Quarterly* xiv (1963) 154 and LS IV i 456 to IV iii 1325 *passim*. Published by A. Millar in 1755.

9. This is probably the version found in the John Bell edition of 1773 (Odell I 355 and Sheldon op. cit. 161). For performances see LS IV i 451-54 and 482.

10. LS Vii 1128 to Viii 1941 *passim*. Published by J. Christie in 1789.

11. Dennis merely requires a few flourishes in the opening scene, while Thomson lacks any musical directions at all.

12. LS II ii 520.

13. It compares in importance with the Coronation scene in *Henry VIII*, on which see entry above.

14. The serpent was a bass woodwind instrument (although some metal instruments were made), with a cup-shaped mouth-piece. It was used in military bands in the mid-eighteenth century (NG XVII 181-83).

15. *The London Chronicle: or, Universal Evening Post* (1758) 455.

16. G&T I 233 (no. 2396).

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid.

19. LS II ii 711-70 *passim*. Unknown to Gooch and Thatcher, there exists a single sheet song which contains the parallel texts of 'Più benigno' and 'Charmer hear your faithful lover'. It is not dated, nor identified by composer or publisher, but it is headed: 'A *Favourite* Minuet *sung by*

M^rs^ Robinson *in the* Opera *call'd* Coriolanus'. I know of two copies of this sheet, one at the Theatre Museum in London (on display in the Harry R. Beard Room) and one in the Shakespeare Collection of Birmingham Central Library (S715. O3p).

Endnotes for Hamlet

1. HG II 716.

2. For details of the acting editions see HG I 105 and II 187-90.

3. For a discussion of Garrick's alteration see: Odell I 385-88; George Winchester Stone Jr, 'Garrick's Long Lost Alteration of *Hamlet*', *Proceedings of the Modern Language Association of America* xcix (1934) 890-921; and *The Plays of David Garrick*, edited by Henry William Pedicord and Frederick Louis Bergmann (Carbondale, 1980-1982) IV 431-37. Garrick's alteration was performed from 1772 to 1779 (HG II 716).

4. Odell II 33.

5. Although they are both for provincial productions of *c*1740, see Folger Shakespeare Library Prompt Ham 54 and a photocopy held at the Folger (PR 2749 HI 1676a) of a companion promptbook.

6. *Dramatic Censor* I 39.

7. 1773 Bell edition of *Hamlet* footnote on page 65.

8. Arden edition of *Hamlet* (edited by Harold Jenkins) IV v 23-40, 48-60, 187-96.

9. IV v 164-65, 184.

10. Printed for Rich. Wellington (London, 1703). 59-60.

11. *The Wandering Patentee* 2 vols (York, 1795) I 17-18.

12. Preface to John Caulfield, *A Collection of Vocal Music in Shakespeare's Plays* 2 vols. (London, [1864]). Mrs Jordan's fame in this role can be deduced from a comment by Leigh Hunt, cited in the article on Dorothy Jordan in BD VIII 245-64:

> Nothing can be more natural or pathetic than the complacent tones and busy goodnature of Mrs Jordan in the derangement of *Ophelia*; her little bewildered songs in particular, like all her songs indeed, pierce to our feelings with a most original simplicity.

13. HG II 232-37.

14. William Linley, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* II 23-24.

15. Similarly there are a number of minor textual variations. For a full discussion of the earliest versions of the words and tunes to all Ophelia's songs see: Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* 53-78 and Seng, 131-56.

16. When Caulfield published Ophelia's songs in his collection of 1864 he had clearly consulted Linley's anthology. Not only did he include Linley's 'For bonny sweet Robin' but also

transposed the three main songs into the same keys as in Linley's publication. (Other variations of pitch and rhythm, however, were retained.)

17. Linley, op. cit. II 24.

18. 'Ann Field', BD V 240-42.

19. G&T I 379 (no. 3838) and LS V iii 1852.

20. 'From Silent Shades' Z 370 Purcell Society Edition XXV 45.

21. LS V ii 1260 (2.6.1790) and LS V iii 1588 (9.10.1793).

22. *European Magazine* (October 1793) 297.

23. V i 61-95 beginning 'In youth when I did love'.

24. Full details of this poem, and early tunes associated with it, are given in the Arden *Hamlet* 548-50; Sternfeld, op. cit. 151-55; and Seng 157-62.

25. *Popular Music of the Olden Time* (London, 1855-59) I 200-01. This is the old ballad 'The Children in the Wood'.

26. Caulfield, op. cit. II 90.

27. (London, 1719) V 92-93.

28. This tune is itself a variant of *Greensleeves*. See Claude M. Simpson, *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Brunswick and New Jersey, 1966) 278 Tune 172.

29. LS II i 137.

30. LS III i 50.

31. LS III i 397.

32. I disagree with Neighbarger's suggestion (p62) that the song could be 'related to Gertrude's hasty remarriage' in which case (Neighbarger continues) 'the diffuse cynicism of the text would become specifically caustic'.

33. LS III i 550.

34. *The Musical Century* II (London, 1740). Also, Norman Gillespie, 'Henry Carey's "Missing" Music to *Hamlet* 1736', *Theatre Notebook* xxxvii (1983) 124-27.

35. Gillespie, op. cit. 125.

36. Gillespie, op. cit. 126 and LS III i 550.

37. Gillespie, op. cit. 127 and LS III i 550-51.

38. LS V iii 1588.

39. G&T 407 (no. 4127).

40. *The European Magazine, and London Review* xxiv (July-Dec 1793) 393.

41. London, [1796].

Endnotes for Julius Caesar

1. HG II 718.

2. HG I 219 and II 313 show the relationship between these and other eighteenth-century acting editions.

3. Prompt Jul. Caes. 8. See also Leo Hughes, 'Folger *Jul. Caes. 8*: A Covent Garden Promptbook', *Theatre Notebook* xxxiv (1980) 86-91.

4. For details of the differences see Hughes op. cit., HG I 219 and II 313, and Odell I 235-39 and II 35-39.

5. Both printed for Henry Herringman and Richard Bentley. Cue on page 51.

6. According to LS III i 430-31, 438 and 452 Master Arne played Lucius at Drury Lane on 8, 9, 11, 12, 13 November and 4 December 1734, and on 18 January 1735. Because it is such a minor role Lucius is not normally mentioned in cast lists.

7. BD I 105-06.

8. Arthur Humphreys (Oxford edition of *Julius Caesar* (Oxford, 1984) 209 note to 316.1) states: 'By eighteenth-century tradition 'Orpheus with his lute' (*Henry VIII* 3.1.3-14) was sung here as 'very appropriate' (Granville-Barker, p130)'. Harley Granville-Barker (*Prefaces to Shakespeare* First Series (London, 1927) 129) in fact says: 'Custom prescribes the use of 'Orpheus with his lute made trees ...' from *Henry VIII*'. There is no mention of the eighteenth century. I believe the 'custom' referred to must belong to the nineteenth century - or even early twentieth century. I have examined several nineteenth-century acting editions of *Julius Caesar*, as well as eighteenth-century texts, and have failed to find any reference to the use of 'Orpheus with his lute' in the fourth act.

9. Odell I 253.

10. G&T I 577-78 (nos. 5538 and 5540).

11. 14 April. Also at Hickford's 31 March 1740 and Lincoln's Inn Fields 11 December 1741. LS III ii 769, 829, 1137 and G&T I 577-78 (no. 5540).

12. BL: Add MS 25484 and BPL: **M. Cab. 1. 15. (I have not seen this latter source.)

13. NO: PwV119. For more information see Lowell Lindgren, 'A Bibliographic Scrutiny of Dramatic Works Set by Giovanni and His Brother Antonio Maria Bononcini', unpublished PhD thesis, Harvard University 1972 288-96.

14. G&T I 577 (no. 5538).

Endnotes for King Lear

1. HG II 717.

2. Ibid. This play was published by E. Flesher (London, 1681).

3. Garrick's version is generally held to be that published by Bell in 1773 (Odell I 377). However, there is a marked-up copy of Tate's adaptation, published by C. Hitch and others in 1756, in the British Library (C. 119. dd. 22). Edward Langhans (*Eighteenth Century British and Irish Promptbooks* (Connecticut, 1987) 164) suggests that this copy, belonging to Garrick, represents an interim alteration before that recorded in the Bell edition.

4. Published by R. Baldwin and T. Becket in 1768. I have consulted the edition published by James Hoey and John Exshaw in Dublin 1768.

5. James Hoey and John Exshaw edition of 1768 [vii]. A similar thought is contained in the Bell 1773 edition of Garrick's version. The footnote on page 128 states: '*Shakespeare*, previous to *Goneril*'s entrance, has introduced a foil, whose character is wonderfully, and in many places, affectingly sustained; but what impression it might have in action, is difficult to determine'. See also Odell I 379-81.

6. LS IV iii 1312-1721 *passim* and HG II 717.

7. HG II 335.

8. Odell II 194-95.

9. LS Vii 1434 commenting on Kemble's promptbook of 1808 states: 'Nearly every scene opens or closes with drums and trumpets'. Although this entry concerns Kemble's production of 6 March 1792 it continues: 'It is not unlikely that these arrangements [referring also to additional personnel] were adhered to in this present revival'.

10. Arden edition of *King Lear*, edited by Kenneth Muir, IV vii 24.

11. BL: C. 119. dd. 22.

12. Ibid 55. The cue is actually at the foot of the page but must refer to the start of the act several lines earlier.

13. The direction reads: 'Edmund and Regan amorously seated, Listening to Musick'.

14. It is omitted in Colman's adaptation and the Bell 1773 edition. However, it is retained in the British Library promptbook.

Endnotes for Macbeth

1. HG II 717.

2. III v 33 and IV i 43.

3. IV i 132.

4. See, for example, the introduction to *Macbeth* in William Shakespeare, *The Complete Works*, general editors Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, compact edition (Oxford, 1988) 975.

5. *Five Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*, edited by Christopher Spencer, (Univ. of Illinois, Urbana, 1965) 14.

6. For further details see Spencer op. cit. 15-16 and HG I 267-68.

7. *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* edited by Robert Latham and William Matthews 11 vols (London, 1970-83) VIII 171.

8. John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), edited by Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London, 1987) 71-72.

9. 7 January 1744. Odell I 340.

10. Odell I 340 and II 87.

11. W. H. Cummings begins his article 'Who wrote the "Macbeth" Music' (*Concordia* Nov 27, 1875): 'The recent revival and performance of *Macbeth* without the witch-music properly associated with the tragedy and attributed to the celebrated Matthew Locke has elicited much criticism'.

12. The nearest equivalent are traditional songs, such as Ophelia's in *Hamlet*. For a more common pattern of musical composition see my entry on *The Tempest*, the rival 'operatic' Shakespeare play.

13. John P. Cutts ('The Original Music to Middleton's *The Witch*', *Shakespeare Quarterly* vii (1956) 203-09) states: 'On stylistic grounds I am certain that "Come away Heckat" is Robert Johnson's setting'. He gives as the sources of the song NYp: MS Drexel 4175 Liiii and Cfm: MS 52 ff 107'-108, neither of which I have seen. The earliest printed edition of this work is in John Stafford Smith's *Musica Antiqua* (London, [1812]) 48-49. The manuscript version of the song contained in BL: MS Egerton 2957 is a nineteenth-century copy; it does not originate from 1714-1715 as stated by Gooch and Thatcher II 732 (no. 6925).

14. The Middleton texts are given in full in the Arden edition of *Macbeth*, edited by Kenneth Muir (footnotes to pp100-01 and 108).

15. 'Jacobean Masque and stage Music', *Music and Letters* xxxv (1954) 185-200.

16. Nos. 25 and 26: 1st treble ff21-21' and bass ff74'-75.

17. Cutts op. cit. 192-93. John H. Long (*Shakespeare's Use of Music: The Histories and Tragedies* (Gainesville, 1971) 197-99) points out that the first witches' dance is also present, arranged for lute, in BL: Add MS 38539 (foot of f4) and in Robert Dowland's *Varietie of Lute-lessons* of 1610 (the sixth of the Almains).

18. First printed in London by A. Clark, and also by P. Chetwin, in 1674. The edition published in 1673 is a corrupt version (comprising the First Folio text but with Davenant's songs added).

19. *Roscius Anglicanus* 71. Downes also identifies the choreographers as [Luke] Channel and Josiah Priest.

20. Rosamond E. M. Harding, *Thematic Catalogue of the Works of Matthew Locke* (Oxford, 1971) 78, provides incipits of five dances present in *Apollo's Banquet for the Treble Violin* (1669) 'which have been thought to have formed a part of the original music which Locke may have composed for this opera'. No explanation is given as to who believed all five dances were originally composed for *Macbeth*. As far as I am aware, three of these tunes, No. 46 'The Opera Tune by Mr. Lock', No. 47 'The Opera Dance' and No. 48 'The Opera Jigg', have no proven connection with *Macbeth*. This seems, also, to be Harding's conclusion.

21. Cutts ('The Original Music to Middleton's *The Witch*') states that music manuscripts were 'handed down among the King's Men Musicians' (p204) and thus Locke, as a King's musician, would have had access to theatrical music manuscripts previously used by the King's men.

22. I have been unable to see this edition of *Apollo's Banquet*, as there is no copy in this country. However, this dance is also present, as no. 13, in the second edition of *Apollo's Banquet* (1678), a copy of which is held at the British Library. It is also present (no. 9) in the seventh edition (1693).

23 I have only seen the edition of 1682, which also contains this dance (no. 7).

24. Oliphant once owned the British Library copy of *Musick's Recreation on the VIOL, Lyra-way* (K.1.a.3). Between pages 10 and 11 there is a manuscript transcription of Locke's dance (printed in tablature on page 10) with the note: 'This is evidently the original rendering of "Let's have a dance" (probably Locke's) afterwards altered and improved by J. Eccles as it is now sung'. The note is undated. Oliphant, who died in 1873, probably made his discovery when working as a cataloguer of printed and manuscript music at the British Museum between 1841 and 1850 (NG XIII, 532).

25. As the note cited above (note 24) indicates, Oliphant was confused about the authorship of the Leveridge music, believing it to be merely an improvement of the Eccles, rather than a new composition in its own right.

26. Details from Harding, op. cit. 78.

27. As transcribed by Harding, op. cit. 78.

28. Original written an octave lower in tenor (C_4) clef. For ease of comparison, in all examples appropriate modern clefs have been substituted where necessary.

29. These include: BL: Add MS 29378, Lcm: MS 857, BL: Add MS 31454, Lcm: MS 182, Lam: 26 C-E and US- Ws: w.b.531. See also the introduction to Grahame O'Reilly's edition of this music (London, 1979).

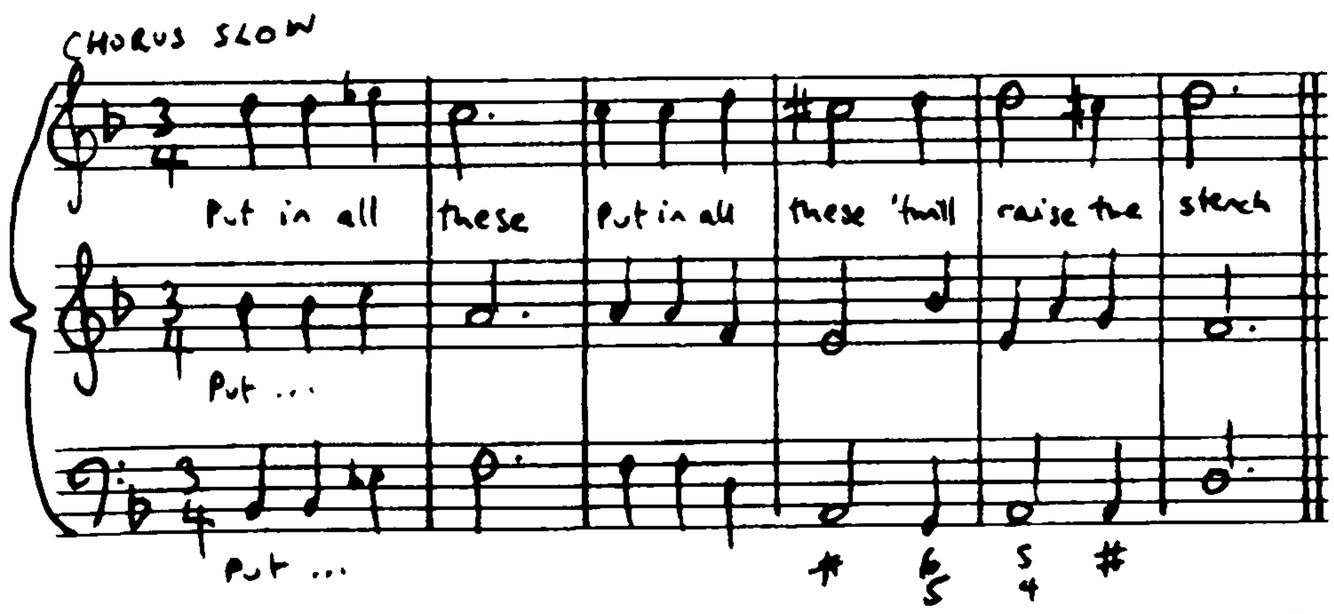
30. The soloists named are: Soprano - Mrs Hodgson, Mrs Willis; Alto - Lee; Tenor - Nicholson; Bass - Courco, Sherburn, Spalding, Wiltshire; Hecate (Bass) - Bowman.

31. BD III 442 and XIII 368-69.

32. I have found the names of twelve soloists in Cfm: MS 87, several of them crossed out: Abington, Boy, Elford, Good, Mrs Harison, Jones, Laroon, Leveridge, Mrs Lindsey, Mrs Mills, Mrs Shaw, Teno. Olive Baldwin and Thelma Wilson (introduction to the forthcoming volume of Leveridge's music in the series Music for London Entertainment) have also discovered Cook, Mrs Cook and Sweet. Leveridge is the only singer who had a particularly substantial role.

33. In the Eccles setting the solo is divided between two singers, but could easily be sung by one.

34. William Linley, in his *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* provides another alternative for 'Put in all these', which he claims 'is the way in which it has been invariably performed at the theatres' (II, 2). I wonder about Linley's claim. The version he presents is an amalgamation of the opening of the earliest choral setting, as found in Cfm: MS 87, with the ending of the later form, as present in Ws: w.b.537. Here it is:



Ex. 1: 'Put in all these' in Linley, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* II p89.

35. Folger Prompt Mac. 13.

36. Harding, op. cit. 76-77.

37. LS II i 325.

38. LS II i 303.

39. Mary Alden Hopkins, *Dr Johnson's Lichfield* (New York, 1952) 246 note 6. I am grateful to Dr Percy Young for this reference.

40. *The Words of Such Pieces as are most usually performed by the Academy of Ancient Music* 2nd edition (London, 1768).

41. LS II i 28.

42. Roger Fiske, 'The "Macbeth" Music', *Music and Letters* xlv (1964) 114-25.

43. Fiske, op. cit. 121.

44. For a comprehensive bibliography on the matter see G&T V 2671-2674 (nos. 1427-1463).

45. Robert Moore, 'The Music to *Macbeth*', *Musical Quarterly* xlvii (1961) 22-40.

46. Moore (op. cit. 27, note 13), by discovering an advertisement in the *Public Advertiser* for 13 May 1770, was the first to establish the correct date of Boyce's publication.

47. Fiske, op. cit. 118.

48. Francis Gentleman, *Dramatic Censor* I 92.

49. Gentleman, op. cit. I 96.

50. Charles Burney, *A General History of Music* vol IV (London, 1789) 185.

51. Thomas Davies, *Dramatic Miscellanies* II 116.

52. W. C. Oulton, *The History of the Theatres of London...1771 to 1795*, 2 vols (London, 1796) I 139.

53. James Boaden, *The Life of Mrs Jordan*, 2 vols (London, 1831) I 260.

54. James Boaden, *Memoirs of the Life of John Philip Kemble Esq*, 2 vols (London, 1825) I 417-18.

55. Boaden, *Memoirs* I 247-48.

56. LS V iii 2131.

57. LS III ii 608.

58. Quoted in LS V i 39: 'The Musick of Macbeth had a proper Attention paid to it in the getting up by Mr Linley (who composed the Additional Accompaniments) and went off with great Applause'.

59. LS V iii 1638 and 2111.

60. Arne's name also appeared earlier on some title-pages of *Macbeth* editions of the play. For example, that published by C. Bathurst and others in 1785 states: 'With the Additions Set to

Music by Mr. Locke and Dr. Arne'. It is curious that William Linley, in his *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs*, made no reference to either Thomas Linley or Thomas Arne in connection with the 'famous' *Macbeth* music.

61. This, presumably, also influenced Boyce to omit Locke's dance.

62. There is, however, no evidence of such silent dancing in eighteenth-century theatrical performances.

63. G&T II 707-08 (no. 6705).

64. For example he is listed as playing solos on 1 and 3 December 1743 (LS III ii 1075).

65. Published by William Warrell (London, [?1785]).

66. LS V i 189.

67. Ibid.

68. The manuscript is now owned by the University of Victoria, British Columbia: M 1509/F 58M88/1780.

69. Paul F. Rice, 'John Abraham Fisher's Music for the Opening of Macbeth', *College Music Society Symposium* xxvi (1986) 7-13. I am grateful to Bryan Gooch and Odean Long for sending me a copy of this article, from which the following points are taken.

70. As written on the title-page.

Endnotes for Othello

1. HG II 717.

2. V ii 249.

3. Frederick Sternfeld, *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (London, 1963) 29.

4. For details of these earlier settings see Sternfeld, op. cit. 23-52.

5. Published in London by J. Dale. The British Library dates it 1798 from its watermark.

6. Volume II 24.

7. *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* 34.

8. There is a copy of this edition in the Shakespeare collection of the Birmingham Public Library (S.341.1755). This copy is also available in a modern facsimile edition by the Cornmarket Press (1969).

9. The main exceptions are the editions published by H. Garland in the mid 1760s. These restore a few lines, but nothing relating to music.

10. p220 (end of Act IV) of volume I of Bell's collected edition of the plays, 1774.

11. *Daily Post* 6 March 1732.

12. LS V iii 1747.

13. LS V iii 1837.

14. LS V iii 1842.

15. LS V iii 1859.

16. G&T II 1206 (no. 11711).

17. LS III i 381, 394, 397, 416, 492, 506, 527, 544.

18. Published in London by Walsh. The British Library dates the print 1763.

19. Act tunes 5-7 of BL: Add MS 24889 appear in exact reverse order in Lcm: MS 1144. Price (*Restoration Theatre* 230-31) omits the 7th tune in his list. All the act tunes are present in both manuscripts.

20. Neighbarger 65 and G&T II 1219 (no. 11835).

21. *Restoration Theatre* 230.

22. 'Eight 'Lost' Restoration Plays 'Found' in Musical Sources', *Music and Letters* lviii (1977) 296 note 16.

23. Ibid. 302.

24. Page 104.

25. II 1219.

26. *Restoration Theatre* 230.

27. Price notes Cmc partbooks (F.4.35(1-5)) and Ob: Mus. Sch. c 72.

Endnotes for Romeo and Juliet

1. HG II 716.

2. HG I 405 suggests Garrick's version was only superceded by Irving's in 1882.

3. This is excluding Benvolio's command 'Strike, drum' (I. iv. 114) as Mercutio, Romeo and Benvolio make their way to the Capulet party.

4. I. v. 27.

5. I. v. 25-26.

6. That is I. v. 16-126.

7. II. iv. 132-37.

8. Page 149 note to lines 132-37.

9. IV. iv. 21-22: *Play Music*

> *Cap[ulet]* The County will be here with music straight,
> For so he said he would. I hear him near.

10. Published in London for Tho. Flesher.

11. Otway IV [ii] 48.

12. LS II i 10 to LS III i 504 *passim*. The details are somewhat vague for a private performance on 6 April 1706 (LS II i 122) and at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 15 August 1735 (LS III i 504).

13. Drury Lane 18 June 1713: DANCING. By Prince and Mrs Bicknell (LS II i 304); Drury Lane 10 May 1717: DANCING. By Mrs Bicknell and Miss Younger (LS II i 449); Drury Lane 29 April 1727: DANCING. By Lally, Essex, Boval, Haughton, Miss Tenoe, Mrs Brett, Mrs Walter. (LS II ii 922.)

14. DANCING. With a new *Chacone* composed by Monsieur Cherrier and perform'd by him and 6 others. (LS II i 57.) 'Composed' here means choreographed.

15. LS II i 231.

16. The dances *French Peasant* and *Whimsical Miller* were not written specifically for Otway's play. Almost all performances of plays at Greenwich during August 1710 boasted one or other of these two dances. Indeed, both dances were advertised to accompany Susanna Centlivre's *The Busie Body* on 7 August (LS II i 229), Beaumont and Fletcher's *The Royal Merchant* on 12 August (LS II i 229) and Thomas D'Urfey's *The Fond Husband* on 29 August (LS II i 231).

17. LS III ii 1117-39 *passim* and *Romeo and Juliet, A Tragedy, Revis'd, and Alter'd from Shakespear, By Mr. Theophilus Cibber. First Reviv'd (in September, 1744,) at the Theatre in the Hay-Market: Now Acted at the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane. To which is added, A Serio-Comic*

Apology, For part of the Life of Mr. Theophilus Cibber, Comedian written by Himself. (London, [1748]). Cibber (*Serio-comic Apology* 74) states that it was performed 'twelve Nights with Success'; we have records only of ten performances. The title-page of Cibber's edition is also misleading. The publication of this text cashed in on Garrick's revival of the play. Despite the claim on the title-page it was Garrick's version of *Romeo and Juliet*, not Cibber's, that was playing at Drury Lane theatre in 1748.

18. *Serio-comic Apology* 75-77 and following.

19. See HG I 404-05 for further details.

20. Cibber, *Romeo and Juliet* 2.

21. Ibid. 54.

22. First performed at Drury Lane on 29 November 1748 (LS IV i 78).

23. Most of the changes are detailed in HG I 404-05. Hogan notes that the 1748 edition is virtually identical to the 1750 edition (except that the latter has an additional scene, which will be discussed later). I have been unable to consult a 1748 edition of this play as the only known extant copies are in the USA (one each at the Fondren Library, Rice University, Texas and the Folger Shakespeare library in Washington D.C.).

24. Printed for J. and R. Tonson (London, 1763).

25. Printed for J. and R. Tonson and S. Draper (London, 1750).

26. I [v] opens with the directions:

> SCENE, a Hall in Capulet's House.
>
> [Music plays.
>
> The Capulets, Ladies, Guests, and Maskers, are discover'd.

27. LS IV i 78-107 *passim*.

28. LS IV i 179-91. Since we lack documentary evidence to the contrary we must presume that the version of *Romeo and Juliet* performed at Covent Garden was essentially Garrick's. (This had been published in 1748 - see note 23 above.)

29. LS IV i 208-09.

30. LS IV i 208.

31. LS IV i 209.

32. *The London Magazine: or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer*, xix (October 1750) 468.

33. Ibid. Charles Haywood, 'William Boyce's "Solemn Dirge" in Garrick's *Romeo and Juliet* Production of 1750', *Shakespeare Quarterly* xi (1960) 174, identifies the author of these words as I. H. Hewitt. The epigram was also printed in the *Daily Advertiser* on 12 October 1750.

34. *Memoirs of George Anne Bellamy...By a Gentleman of Covent-Garden theatre* [that is, herself], (London, 1785).

35. LS IV i 221 to LS V iii 2233 *passim*. From the mid 1760s onwards *Romeo and Juliet* was performed rather more frequently at Covent Garden than at Drury Lane.

36. LS IV i 179.

37. As usual in these cases it is not always easy to discern whether advertised dancing was integral to the play, or merely occurred between the acts. Sometimes, as on 3 December 1748 at Drury Lane, both were present (LS IV i 79).

38. Two of the five prints are reproduced in LS IV i between pages 176 and 177, where it is noted that a complete set is held by the Folger Shakespeare library.

39. New York Public Library Acc. #709397.

40. Ibid. pages 95 and 96.

41. Arne's setting was published by Henry Thorowgood in London [1765?] with the title: *A Compleat Score of the Solemn Dirge in Romeo and Juliet as perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden*.

42. Boyce's setting is contained in Ob: MS Mus. c. 3. ff 9-20, which is believed to be a holograph manuscript. The text reproduced here is taken from the J. & R. Tonson and S. Draper 1750 edition of the play.

43. 'Which' in Ob: MS Mus. c. 3.

44. This chorus is omitted in Ob: MS Mus. c. 3.

45. 'from earth' in Ob: MS. Mus. c. 3.

46. *Dramatic Censor* (London, 1770) I 185.

47. Note to p141.

48. New York Public Library Acc. #709397, after p152.

49. *Diary of a Journey to England in the Years 1761-1762* translated by Countess Friederick Kielmansegg (London, 1902) 221-22.

50. From Christlob Mylius's *Tagebuch* for 23 October 1753, quoted in John Alexander Kelly, *German Visitors to English Theaters in the Eighteenth Century* (Princeton, 1936) 25.

51. *Memoirs of George Anne Bellamy* 115.

52. Manuscript held at Burghley House, Stamford, Lincolnshire; copy available in Cpl. Norris L. Stephens in the *New Grove* article on Avison (I 748-51) lists this work under 'Attributions', without explaining why its authorship is in doubt.

53. Published by R. Bremner (London, [*c*1771]) but performed at Hereford in 1753. See Charles Haywood, op. cit. 184 note 35.

54. For a full discussion of this work see Charles Haywood op. cit., although he mistakenly believed the dirge to have been composed by Boyce.

55. LS V iii 2218.

56. The manuscript is held by the Birmingham Central Library (S. 745. 93p). I am unclear as to why they have given it the date *c*1820, which seems a little late.

57. See, for example, the advertisements for 20 October 1794 (LS V iii 1696) and 19 September 1796 (LS V iii 1899). I have not yet identified the Elegy used.

58. See, for example, the edition published by R. Butters (London, [*c*1786]).

59. LS V ii 1111.

60. LS V ii 1111 to LS V iii 1926 *passim*.

61. One might, perhaps, have expected to find Thomas Linley's setting in William Linley's two-volume *Shakespeare's Dramatic Songs* (London, [1816]).

62. G&T II 1346 (no. 13127).

63. LS V iii 1491.

Endnotes for Timon of Athens

1. HG II 718.

2. *Timon of Athens. As it is acted at the Theatre-Royal on Richmond-Green. Altered from Shakspear and Shadwell.* (London, 1768).

3. LS I 266.

4. LS II i 7 to III ii 1206 *passim*.

5. *The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-hater.* (London, 1678). (Facsimile published by Cornmarket Press London, 1969), 20.

6. Ibid. 14.

7. Ibid. 33.

8. Ibid. 5. After the direction 'Soft Musick' the Poet comments: 'Here's excellent Musick! In what delights he melts his hours away!' Later in the play the fickle Timon says to Evandra 'You have moved me to be womanish' (p17) and again 'Y'have made a woman of me' (p33).

9. Ibid. 25 and 26.

10. Stage direction taken from the First Folio.

11. This may seem a paradox, since the masque is a gift *to* Timon rather than from him. Yet it is clear from other contexts that the givers would receive an even bigger gift in return. This point is made also by H. Neville Davies in correspondence over a review of C. Price's book *Henry Purcell and the London Stage* in *Music and Letters* lxvii (1986) 343.

12. Purcell Society Edition of *Timon of Athens* edited by Jack Westrup, (London, 1974) xvii notes 4 and 5.

13. LS I 266 and G&T III 1674 (no. 16320). Grabu's surviving settings were published in *Choice Ayres & Songs* II (1679).

14. Purcell, *Timon* (ed. Westrup) x.

15. Ibid. x-xi. Motteux's verses are to be found in the *Gentleman's Journal* for May 1693. Motteux claims that the verses (of which those set by Purcell are only a part) were set by Mr [Johann Wolfgang] Franck. Although some of Franck's settings of Motteux's verses survive, those of the line used in *Timon* do not.

16. See also H. Neville Davies' review of Curtis Price's book, and subsequent correspondence, in *Music and Letters* lxvi (1985) 263-67, lxvii (1986) 123 and 343; and the introduction to the new Purcell Society edition of Timon of Athens edited by Ian Spink (London, 1994).

17. The last time Purcell's music is specifically mentioned is for a performance of *Timon of Athens* at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 2 May 1716 (LS II i 401).

18. At Stationers' Hall on 11 April and 9 May 1711 (LS II i 246 and 249).

19. It was performed at Drury Lane with *The School Boy* on 28 March 1704 (LS II i 62), *The Northern Lass* on 22 June 1706 (LS II i 127), and *The Tempest* on 1 and 21 January 1707 (LS II i 136 and 138), and at Covent Garden as an afterpiece to *The Island Princess* on 10 and 11 December 1739 (LS III ii 808).

20. For example at Drury Lane on 11 February 1707 and at Lincoln's Inn Fields on 24 March and 22 April 1715 (LS II i 140, 348 and 352).

21. For example, the performance of *Timon of Athens* at Drury Lane on 26 May 1729 contained the following dances: a 'Spanish Entry' by Lally and others at the end of the fourth act, and a 'Sultana' by Miss Robinson Jr at the end of the fifth act (LS II ii 1036). A slightly more bizarre distraction occurred at Drury Lane on 20 May 1720 when the advertisements inform us that the performance of *Timon of Athens* was to end with 'An Epilogue to be spoke by Mr Penkethman riding on an Ass' (LS II ii 582).

22. See the advertisements for 18 September and 8 December 1735, and also for 25 February and 19 November 1736 (LS III i 512, 534, 555 and 616).

23. At Covent Garden on 28 March 1734 there occurred in the second act a 'Dialogue between a courtier and a farmer's wife' (LS III i 381). For the same theatre on 20 April 1745 the advertisements state: 'A Duet by Beard and Miss Edwards', though it is unclear whether this occurred during or after the second act (LS III ii 1168).

24. LS II ii 1028.

25. Although he makes no mention of this advertisement see: Owain Edwards, 'The response to Corelli's music in eighteenth-century England', *Studia musicologica norvegica* ii (1976) 51-96.

26. LS II ii 724 - 977 *passim*.

27. LS II ii 873.

28. LS II ii 1028 and 1036. For the latter performance the dance was at the *end* of the second act.

29. LS II ii 1031.

30. LS III i 244. Dances of Moors were clearly popular entertainments since one featured at Lincoln's Inn Fields between 9 January 1727 and 23 May 1728 (LS II ii 902 to 979 *passim*), at Goodman's Fields from 15 December 1729 to 15 February 1732 (LS III i 24 to 190 *passim*) and also at Covent Garden on 2 August 1733 (LS III i 310-11) and at the Haymarket on 29 December 1735 (LS III i 539).

31. LS III i 294-95.

32. Ibid.

33. LS III i 305.

34. LS III ii 916.

35. The opening lines are: 'Blow, blow thou Winter wind, / Thou art not so unkind as man's ingratitude'.

36. Purcell Society Edition (1974) 45-53.

37. Westrup op. cit. x-xii and Price, *Henry Purcell and the London Stage*, (Cambridge, 1984) 94.

38. G&T III 1673 (no. 16313).

39. BD VII 354-55.

40. NG III 302-03. No date is given for this song.

41. G&T III 1673 (no. 16313).

42. 1678 edition of Shadwell's play, page 82.

43. Ibid. 69.

44. Op. cit. 94-96.

45. *Music and Letters* lxvi (1985) 264-65.

46. Ibid.

47. At Covent Garden (see LS III ii 1206).

48. First performed at Drury Lane on 4 December 1771 (LS IV iii 1590). Cumberland's alteration was published by T. Becket (London, 1771).

49. Becket 1771 edition of play pages 8-9.

50. Ibid. 9.

51. LS IV iii 1590.

52. Becket 1771 edition of play page 8.

53. LS IV iii 1590 - 1606 *passim*.

54. HG II 655.

55. LS V ii 885.

56. For example, Timon's lovers Melissa and Evandra are in the cast (see LS V ii 885).

57. LS V ii 885.

Endnotes for Titus Andronicus

1. HG II 719.
2. I i 90-91.
3. 1687 edition I ii p3.
4. ff 10'-11. The manuscript is available in a facsimile edition (with an introduction by Curtis Price) in Music for London Entertainment 1660-1800 Series A vol III (Withyham, 1987 - series now published by Stainer and Bell, London).
5. Music for London Entertainment A III vii.
6. Ibid. ix.
7. LS II i 73.

Endnotes for Troilus and Cressida

1. LS II i 194; II ii 599, 616, 722, 726, 745; III i 349, 355.

2. III ii 110-21.

3. Reproduced in Price 26.

4. Dryden *Troilus and Cressida* (London, 1695) 33.

5. *Choice Ayres and Songs. Third Book* (London, 1681).

6. In *A Collection of Songs for One Two and Three Voices* (London, [1704]).

7. LS I 441.

8. G&T III 1692 (no. 16469).

9. LS I 487.

Appendix A

Tables

Contents

A Midsummer Night's Dream

Pyramus and Thisbe Richard Leveridge (1716)

Songs

Bottom		The Raging Rocks
Prologue		Yet I see some Critick Faces
Wall		The Wretched Sighs, and Groans
Lion		Ladies don't fright you
Moon-shine		The Man in the Moon am I, Sir
Pyramus		Approach, you furies fell
Pyramus		Now am I dead
Thisbe		These Lilly Lips
Pyramus		All are madding
Pyramus and Thisbe	}	My Pyre, my Treasure, / My Thisbe, My Pleasure

---

Pyramus and Thisbe John Frederick Lampe (1745)

Songs†

Wall	The wretched Sighs and Groans
Pyramus	And Thou O Wall
Pyramus	O wicked Wall
Thisbe	Fly swift good Time
Duetto	Not Cephalus to Procris was so true
Duetto	I go without delay
Lion	Ladies don't fright ye
Moon	The Man in the Moon am I sir
Thisbe	Where is my love
Pyramus	Sweet moon I thank thee‡
Pyramus	Approach ye furies fell
Pyramus	Now am I dead
Thisbe	These Lilly Lips
Duetto	Thus folding, beholding

† Spellings taken from the Table of Songs in the Walsh publication of the songs.

‡ This song is not listed in the Table of Songs, but is found as the final number in some copies of the Walsh publication.

Sources for David Garrick / John Christopher Smith *The Fairies* (1755)

AIR		*SOURCE*
	FIRST ACT	
Theseus	Pierce the air with sounds of joy	
Hermia	With mean disguise let others nature hide	Hammond, Elegy IX 'He has lost Delia'.
Theseus	Joy alone shall employ us†	
Lysander	When that gay season did us lead	Milton, *L'Allegro*
Helena	O Hermia fair, O happy, happy fair	Shakespeare, *Dream* I i 182-85, 192-93
Hermia	Before the time I did Lysander see	Shakespeare, *Dream* I i 204-07
Helena	Love looks not with the eyes but with the mind	Shakespeare, *Dream* I i 234-39
Puck	Where the bee sucks, there lurk I	Shakespeare, *Tempest* V i 88-94
Queen	O'er the smooth enamell'd green	Milton, *Arcades* 2nd song
Oberon	Come, follow, follow me	Anon, *The Fairy Queen* in: *Musical Miscellany* II (1729) (Not Garrick, *pace* G&T II 1075 (no 10276))
	SECOND ACT	
Helena	Love made the lovely Venus burn	Waller, 'To Phyllis'
Queen	You spotted snakes with double tongue	Shakespeare, *Dream* II ii 9-23
Lysander & Hermia	Not the silver doves that fly	Waller, 'On the Friendship betwixt 2 ladies'.
Lysander	Say, lovely dream, where couldst thou find	Waller, 'Say, lovely dream'.
Hermia	Sweet soothing hope, whose magic-art	
Oberon	But you must not long delay	
Oberon	Now until the break of day	Shakespeare, *Dream* V i 387-88, x, 402, 407-08.
	THIRD ACT	
Hermia	How calm's the sky, how undisturb'd the deep	Granville, *The Enchantment* 'Mix, mix the Philters'.
Oberon	Flower of this purple dye	Shakespeare, *Dream* III ii 102-09.
Lysander	Do not call it sin in me	Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost* IV iii 112-16
Helena	Since Hermia neglects me	
Hermia	Come pride, love-disdaining‡	
Oberon	Sigh no more, ladies, sigh no more	Shakespeare, *Much Ado* II iii 62-65
Puck	Up and down, up and down	Shakespeare, *Dream* III ii 396-99
Queen	Orpheus with his lute made trees	Shakespeare, *Henry VIII* III i 3-8
Theseus	Hark, hark, how the hounds and horn	Milton, *L'Allegro*
Helena	Love's a tempest, life's the ocean	C. Cibber, *Love in a riddle* Act I Air V
Chorus	Hail to love, and welcome joy	Granville, *The British Enchanters* Act II

Character	*Singer* (As indicated in the Walsh score)
Theseus	Mr Beard
Lysander	Sig[r]. Guadagni††
Hermia	Sig[ra]. Passerini
Helena	Miss Poitier‡‡
Oberon	Master Reinholt
Titania	Miss Young
Puck	Master Moore

† Although present in the librettos of *The Fairies* this song is not to be found in the Walsh score. It was either not set or perhaps accidently omitted.

‡ In the earliest issue of the libretto of *The Fairies* this song is replaced by one beginning 'Farewel, ungrateful traitor' (from Dryden's *The Spanish Friar* V i). 'Come pride, love-disdaining' is the song set by Smith, and published by Walsh.

†† Listed in the later editions of the libretto as being sung by Sig [Rosa] Curioni, who presumably took on the role for the last two performances in October and November 1755.

‡‡ Miss Poitier's married name, Mrs Vernon, is given in the later librettos.

A Midsummer Night's Dream David Garrick / George Colman the elder 1763

(List as given in 1763 edition at BL 642.e.19(4))

ACT I

An OVERTURE *by Mr.* SMITH

1.	*With mean disguise let others nature hide*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
2.	*When that gay season did us lead*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
3.	*O Hermia fair, O happy, happy fair*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
4.	*Before the time I did Lysander see*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
5.	*Against myself, why all this art*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
6.	*Most noble Duke to us be kind*	*Mr.* Burney. [c]

ACT II

7.	*Kingcup, daffodil, and rose*	*Mr.* Mich. Arne. [b]
8.	*Yes yes, I know you, you are he*	*Mr.* Mich. Arne. [b]
9.	*Away, away, I will not stay*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
10.	*Forbid the stormy sea to roll*	*Mr.* Batershall.
11.	*Our softer sex can't fight for love*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
12.	*Come follow, follow me*	*Mr.* Handel. [b*]

ACT III

13.	*You spotted snakes with double tongue*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
14.	*Not the silver doves*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
15.	*If, oh, if no flame return*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
16.	*Sweet soothing hope, whose magic art*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
17.	*The ousel-cock so black of hue*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]

ACT IV

18.	*These looks, these tears, these tender sighs*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
19.	*I'll range all around till I find out my love*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
20.	*Flower of this purple dye*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
21.	*How can these sighs and tears seem scorn to you*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
22.	*How calm my soul in this blest hour*	*Mr.* Batershall.
23.	*Let him come, let him come, etc.*	*Mr.* Burney. [e]
24.	*With various griefs my mind is torn*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
25.	*Up and down, up and down*	*Mr.* Burney. [d]
26.	*Sign no more, ladies, sigh no more*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]

ACT V

27.	*Sweetest creature, pride of nature*	*Mr.* Burney. [f]
28.	*Welcome, welcome to this place*	*Mr.* Mich. Arne. [b]
29.	*Be as thou wast wont to be*	*Mr.* Burney. [c]
30.	*Orpheus, with his lute*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
31.	*Hark, hark, how the hounds and horn*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
32.	*The dream is o'er, as day appears*	*Mr.* Aylewood. [e]
33.	*Pierce the air with sounds of joy*	*Mr.* Smith. [a]
[34.	*Hail to love! and welcome joy!*	*Mr.* Smith.] [a*]

a. Music from the opera *The Fairies*, 1755.

a*. This chorus is not separately listed, although it is a quite independent piece from that preceding it. Indeed, in *The Fairies* these were the first and last numbers of the opera.

b. These pieces were published in the collection: *The Favourite new Songs & Duet in the FAIRY TALE, Sung by MISS WRIGHT, & MASTER RAWWORTH, with the Favourite Airs, & Duets of the late Occasional Interlude call'd HYMEN ... Perform'd at the Theatre Royal in Drury Lane, Compos'd by MICH:L ARNE* (LONDON, [1764]).

b*. I know of no setting of these words to music by Handel. However, there is a setting by Michael Arne in his publication *The Favourite new Songs & Duet in the FAIRY TALE*.

c. Settings of these two songs by Burney do not exist. However, in BL Add MS 36944 (Henry Bishop's music for an operatic *A Midsummer Night's Dream* at Covent Garden on 17 January

1816) there are arrangements of both these lyrics, but attributed to [Michael] Arne ('Most noble Duke, to us be kind') and Battishill ('Be as thou wast wont to be'). It is possible that Arne and Battishill wrote these settings to replace compositions originally by Burney. However, it is also possible that the printed list is incorrect, and that Arne and Battishill were the original composers.

d. No setting of these words by Burney is extant. The 1777 edition of *The Fairy Tale* indicates that Smith's setting of the words was used for the 1777 production at the Haymarket Theatre. Either Burney's setting was felt to be inferior, and had therefore been replaced, or the words were never actually set by Burney.

e. Settings of both these songs can be found in: *SIX SONGS in Harlequin's Invasion, Cymbeline, and Midsummer Night's Dream, etc. As they are SUNG at the THEATRE ROYAL in DRURY LANE … Composed by M^r: Aylward* (London, [1765]). The implication is that Aylward set both songs, and not just one as indicated in the 1763 printed list.

f. There are no extant settings of any of these ten songs composed by Burney.

A Fairy Tale George Colman the elder (1763)

Taken from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1763)

Act I

Airs: 6, 7, 8, 9, 12, 13, †

Act II

Airs: 17, 25, 28, 20, 30, 26

† Additional song, set by James Hook, but no longer extant:

Such the force of Magic Pow'r
Of the juice of this small flower,
It shall jaundice so her sight,
Foul shall be fair, and black seem white;
Then shall dreams, and all their train,
Fill with Fantasies her brain;
Then, no more her darling joy,
She'll resign her changeling boy.

A Fairy Tale (1777)

As *A Fairy Tale* 1763 except omitting Airs 30 and 26 and adding an epilogue 'If we shadows have offended' (V i 409-12, 415-6, 421-2) set by Dr. Arnold. According to the 1777 printed edition 'Most noble Duke to us be kind' was set by Charles Dibdin, and 'Flower of this purple dye' by Michael Arne. None of these settings is extant, and it is possible that these could be mistaken attributions.

The Taming of the Shrew

A Cure for a Scold James Worsdale (1735)

References have been given to Claude Simpson's *The British Broadside Ballad and Its Music* (New Jersey, 1966) and to John Gay's *Polly* (London, 1729).

ACT ONE

AIR	*TITLE*	*SIMPSON*	*POLLY*
I	Lillybullero	449-55	
II	White Joke†		
III	Did not you hear of a Jovial Sailor	338-39	
IV	Of all the Simple Things we do	540-41	
[V]	Down in the North Country‡		VI
[VI]	Altho' I am a Country Lass	134-36	
[VII]	Red House		IX

† BL: a. 26. q(11) *The Third Book of the most Celebrated Jiggs, Lancashire Hornpipes ... To which is added the Black Joak, the White Joak, the Brown the Red and the Yellow Joaks* (London, [*c*1730]) p7.
See also BL: G 308(12) '[Gay Myra Toast of all the Town], The White Joak. Sung by Mrs Roberts at the Theatre in Drury Lane. The Words by Mr Davis' (London [?1725]).

‡ See *The Taming of the Shrew*, endnote 33.

ACT TWO

AIR	*TITLE*	*SIMPSON*	*POLLY*
I	The Twitcher	151-53	
II	Joan be not so coy		
III	Bessy Bell	136-37	
IV	Oh! London is a fine Town	462-63	
V	Waly, Waly		VII
VI	Happy Clown†		
VII	When bright Aurelia		XLI
VIII	Three Sheep-skins		XXIV
IX	Polwart on the Green		XX
X	Bobbing Joan	46-47	XV
XI	To you Fair ladies	cf 650	LII
XII	And a Begging we will go	40-42	

XIII	'Twas when the Seas was roaring‡	719-20	
XIV	Excuse me		XLIII
XV	Chorus in Porus††		

† BL: H 1601(333) '[One Evening haveing lost my way], (The Happy Clown) A Song the Words by Mr Burkhead' (London [?1720]).

‡ Apparently by G. F. Handel. See NG VIII 126.

†† The final chorus in Handel's opera *Poro*.

The Tempest

Song requirements in *The Tempest* as in the First Folio

I.ii	Ariel	Come unto these yellow sands
I.ii	Ariel	Full fadom five thy father lies
II.i	Ariel	While you here do snoring lie
II.ii	Stephano	(I shall no more to sea)
II.ii	Stephano	The Master, the Swabber, the Boates-swaine and I
II.ii	Caliban	(Farewell Master)
III.ii	Caliban	No more dams I'le make for fish
III.ii	Stephano and Trinculo	Flout 'em, and cout 'em
IV.i	Juno and Ceres	Honor, riches, marriage, blessing
V.i	Ariel	Where the bee sucks

Song requirements in the 1674 adaptation *The Tempest or, The Enchanted Island*

II.i	Devils	Where does the black Fiend Ambition reside
II.i	Devil	Arise ye subterranean winds
II.ii	Ariel	Come unto these yellow sands
II.ii	Milcha	Full fathoms five thy father lyes
II.iii	Trincalo	I shall no more to sea
II.iii	Trincalo	The Master, the Swabber, the Gunner and I
II.iii	Caliban	No more dams I'le make for fish
III.iii	Ariel and Milcha	Dry those eyes
III.iv	Ariel and Ferdinand	Go thy way
IV.ii	Caliban	We want Musick, we want Mirth
V.i	Neptune and Amphirite etc	My Lord, Great Neptune, for my sake
V.i	Ariel	Where the bee sucks

Additions

1675	Dorinda	Adieu to the pleasures
1695	Dorinda	Dear Pretty Youth

Thomas Arne Fourth-Act Masque

			LINES
Iris	Ceres most bounteous lady	Recit	60-63, 70-75
[Ceres]	Hail many colour'd messenger	Recit	76-77
[Ceres]	Thou with thy saffron wings … (source breaks off)	Air	78-82[a]
	(source continues with:)		
[Iris]	… with sparrows (incomplete - lacks line 101[a])	Air	100
Ceres	High Queen of State	Recit	101[b]-102
Juno	How does my beauteous sister	Recit	103-05
[Juno]	Honor, riches, marriage blessing	Air	106-16
[Iris]	Ye nymphs call'd Naiads	Recit	128-33
Juno, Ceres and Iris	Ye sunburn'd sicklemen	Air	134-37

Sources for Smith's Opera *The Tempest* (1756)

AIR	*FIRST ACT*	*SOURCE*
Ariel	Arise ye subterranean winds	Adapted from Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* II iv
Miranda	Hark how the winds rush from their caves	
Prospero	In pity, Neptune smooths the liquid way	John Hughes, *The Triumph of Peace*
Miranda	Come, O sleep, my eyelids close	
Ariel	In the bright moonshine, while winds whistle loud	Dryden, *Tyrannic Love* IV i
Prospero	We must work, we must haste	Dryden, *King Arthur* III ii
Ariel	Come unto these yellow sands	Shakespeare, *The Tempest* I ii 377-83
Ariel	Full fathom five thy father lies	Shakespeare, *The Tempest* I ii 399-407
Ariel and Ferdinand	Go thy way	Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* III iv
Stephano	Here's to thee, Tom, this whining love despise	
Stephano, Trincalo and Mustacho	Whilst blood does flow	
Trincalo	Then since no state's completely blest	

SECOND ACT

Ferdinand	What sudden blaze of majesty	
Prospero	In tender sighs he silence breaks	Hughes, *Serenata for two voices on the Marriage of ... Lord Cobham to Mrs Anne Halsey*
Miranda	Sweetness, truth, and ev'ry grace	Waller, 'Of loving at first sight'
Ariel	Dry those eyes, which are o'erflowing	Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* III iii
Ariel	Around, around, we pace	Davenant-Dryden *Tempest* II iv
Prospero	Upon their broken peace of mind	
Ferdinand	To what my eyes admir'd before	Granville, 'To Myra'
Ferdinand	In some defect each grace was lost	
Miranda	How can I speak my secret pain?	
Caliban	No more dams I'll make for fish	Shakespeare, *The Tempest* II ii 180-85
Caliban	The owl is abroad, the bat and the toad	Jonson, *Masque of Queens*
Trincalo, Stephano and Ventoso	The thirsty earth soaks up the rain	Cowley, *Anacreontiques*

THIRD ACT

Ferdinand	Have you seen but a bright lilly grow	Jonson, *The Devil is an Ass* II iv
Ariel	Before you can say, come and go	Shakespeare, *The Tempest* IV i 44-48 and Dryden, *Tyrannic Love* IV i 75-78
Miranda	Hope waits upon the flow'ry prime	Waller, *To a very Young Lady*
Prospero	Let magick sounds affright no more	
Ferdinand	If on those endless charms you lay	Granville, 'Why cruel creature'
Ferdinand	Life resembles April weather	
Prospero	With him thy joys shall be compleat	
Ferdinand and Miranda	Love, gentle love, now fills my breast	

Appendix B

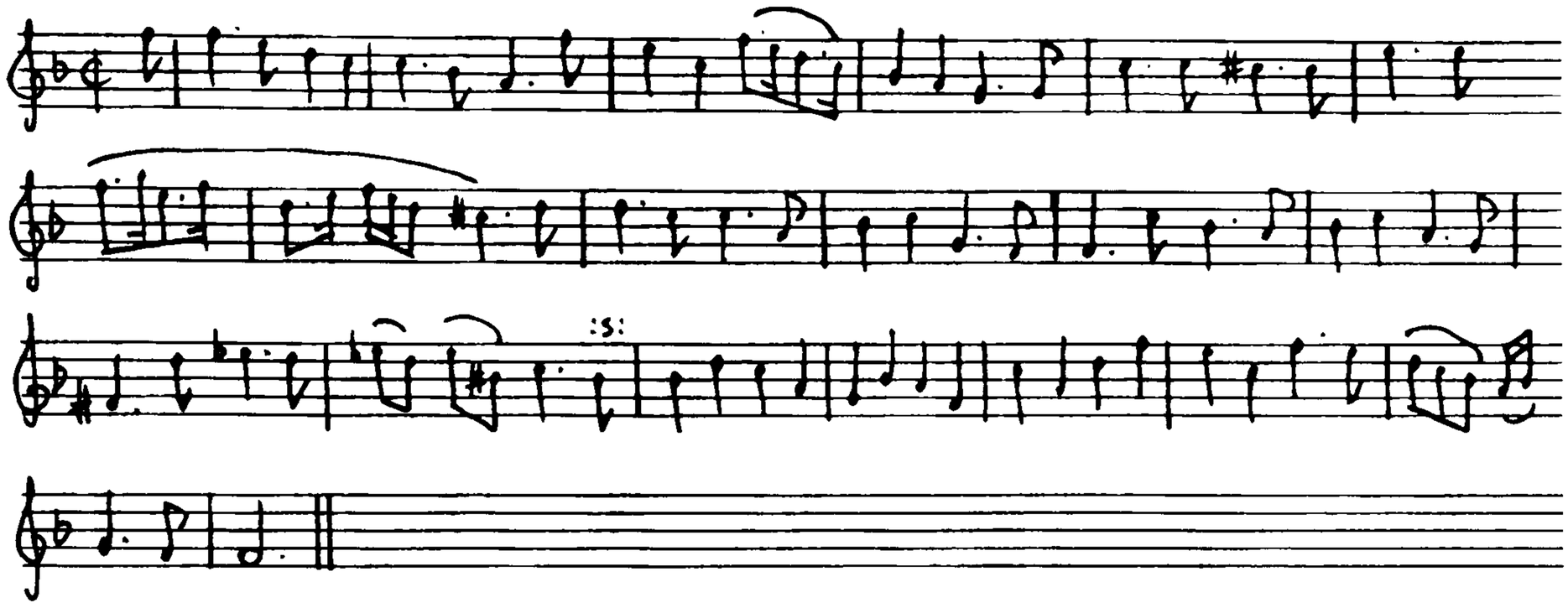
Additional Music and Lyrics

Contents

SECTION I: The Comedies

Cymbeline

The SERENADE, A SONG in the Injur'd Princess or a Fatal Wager, Set by Colonel Pack.



(Taken from *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy* II (1719) 196-97.)

THE Larks awake the drowzy morn,
My dearest lovely *Chloe* rise,
And with thy dazling Rays adorn,
The ample World and Azure Skies:
Each Eye of thine out-shines the Sun,
Tho' deck'd in all his Light;
As much as he excells the Moon,
Or each small twinkling Star at Noon,
Or Meteor of the Night.

Look down and see your Beauty's power,
See, see the Heart in which you reign;
No Conquer'd Slave in Triumph bore,
Did ever wear so strong a Chain:
Feed me with Smiles that I may Live,
I'll ne'er wish to be free;
Nor ever hope for kind Reprieve,
Or Loves grateful bondage leave,
For Immortality.

The Merchant of Venice

From *The Spectator* no. 366 (1712):

'THE following verses are a Translation of a *Lapland* Love-Song, which I met with in *Scheffer's* History of that country'.

THOU rising Sun, whose gladsome Ray,
Invites my Fair to Rural Play,
Dispel the Mist, and clear the Skies,
And bring my Orra to my Eyes.

Oh! were I sure my Dear to view,
I'd climb that Pine-Tree's topmost Bough,
Aloft in Air, that quivering plays:
And round and round for ever gaze.

My Orra Moor, where art thou laid?
What Wood conceals my sleeping Maid?
Fast by the Roots enrag'd I'll tear
The Trees, that hide my promis'd Fair.

Oh! I cou'd ride the Clouds and Skies,
Or on the Raven's Pinions rise!
Ye Storks, ye Swans, a Moment stay,
And waft a Lover on his Way.

* My Bliss too long my Bride denies,
Apace the wasting† Summer flies:
Nor yet the wintry Blasts I fear,
Not‡ Storms, or†† Night, shall keep me here.

What may for Strength with Steel compare?
Oh! Love has Fetters stronger far:
By Bolts of Steel are Limbs confin'd,
But cruel Love enchains the Mind.

No longer then perplex thy Breast,
When Thoughts torment, the first are best;
'Tis mad to go, 'tis Death to stay,
Away to Orra, haste away.

* From here set by Thomas Arne. Differences in Arne: † 'wafting' ‡ 'nor' †† 'my Jesse'.

The Merchant of Venice Bell edition (1773)

V [i]

To keep my gentle Jesse,
What labour wou'd seem hard,
Each toilsome task how easy!
Her love the sweet reward.
The Bee thus, uncomplaining,
Esteems no toil severe,
The sweet reward obtaining,
Of honey, all the year.

II [ii]

Haste, Lorenzo, haste away†,
To my longing arms repair,
With impatience I shall die;
Come, and ease‡ thy Jessy's care:
Let me then in wanton play,
Sigh and gaze my soul away.

Differences in Joseph Baildon's setting: † 'Haste Lorenzo hither fly' ‡ 'sooth'.

The Merchant of Venice Lowndes edition [1797] III v

Jes[sica]. In vows of everlasting truth,
You waste your idle hours, fond youth;
But leave me once, and I should† find,
That out of sight were‡ out of mind.

Lor[enzo]. Ah, do thyself no wrong, my dear,
Affect no coy nor jealous fear;
Each beauteous object, I might see,
Would but inspire a thought of thee.

Jes[sica]. & Lor[enzo]. Thus absence warms with†† fiercer flame
The fine affections of the soul;
As distance points with surer aim
The faithful needle to its darling pole.

Differences in Thomas Shaw's setting: † 'shall' ‡ 'is' first time, but 'were' when text repeated †† 'the'.

The Merry Wives of Windsor

The Comical Gallant John Dennis (1702) V

Spirit. YE Goblins and Fairies and Satyrs and Fawns,
That merrily Revel or'e midnight Lawns.
Come away, Come away,
And make no delay.
But our cheerful Gamesom Summons obey,
Come away, Come away with your frolicksom train,
And nimbly advance
In a whimsical Dance,
And prettily trip it,
And merrily skip it,
And wantonly leap it,
Over the Skirts of the painted Plain,
For this is the Time, for us Goblins to Reign.

Chor. See, see we advance
In a whimsical Dance,
And prettily trip it,
And prettily skip it,
And wantanly leap it,
Over the Skirts of the painted Plain,
For this is the Time for us Goblins to Reign.

Spirit. Ye Goblins and ev'ry Fairy Spright,
Come about, about, about this unwieldy Wight,
Who is a freakish frolicksom Elf,
And a fantastick Goblin himself;
And as round him you go
In a Jovial Row,
To be reveng'd of his lustful Crime,
Merrily trowl out a scornful Rhime,
And cuff him in Cadence, and kick him in Time.

Chorus. See round him we go
In a Jovial Row,
And merrily trowling a scornful Rhime,
We cuff him in Cadence, and kick him in Time.

Ford. Oh - Oh - Oh -

Spirit. Now laugh at his Woe,
And as he Cries Oh -
Reply with a He, Ho, Hi, Ho.

1 Chorus Hi, Hi, Hi.

2 Chorus. Hi, Ho, Ho.

Ford. Oh - Oh - Oh -

1 Chorus. Hi, Hi, Hi.

2 Chorus. Ho, Ho, Ho.

'The Merry Wives of Windsor' (BL: G 313 (22))

1. We merry WIVES of Windsor,
Whereof you make your Play,

And act us on your Stages,
In London Day by Day.
Alass it doth not hurt us,
We care not what you do,
For all you scoff we'll sing and laugh,
And yet be honest too.

2. Alass we are good fellows,
We hate dishonesty,
We are not like your City Dames,
In Sport of Venery,
We scorn to Punk or to be drunk,
But this we dare to do,
To sit and chat laugh and be fat,
But yet be honest too.

3. But should you know we Windsor dames
Are free from haughty Pride,
And hate the tricks you wenches have,
In London and Bankside,
But we can spend and money lend
And more than that we'll do,
We'll sit and chat laugh and be fat,
And yet be honest too.

4. It grieves us much to see your wants,
Of things that we have store,
In Forests wide and Parks beside,
And other places more,
Pray do not scorn the Windsor horn,
That is both fair and new,
Altho' you scold we'll sing and laugh,
And yet be honest too.

5. But now farewel unto you all,
We have no more to say,
Be sure you imitate us right,
In acting of your play,
If that you miss we'll at you hiss,
As others us'd to do,
And at you scoff and sing and laugh,
And yet be honest too.

Much Ado About Nothing

Songs from *The Universal Passion* James Millar (1737)

[1] *Act I* AIR I

Let's sing and be merry,
And never be weary;
Let's rail and bespatter,
We cannot do better,
For nothing like Rallery charms ev'ry Sense,
When we wittily laugh at anothers Expence.

Let's lash and spare none,
For so modish 'tis grown,
'Tis but a weak Brother,
Speaks well of another:
For nothing like Rallery charms ev'ry Sense,
When we wittily laugh at another's Expence.

---

[2] *Act II* SONG

I like the am'rous Youth that's free
His Passion to declare,
For vig'rous Importunity
Ne'er fails to win the Fair.

None *Cupid* fear but Fools, the Boy
Hurts none who valiant prove;
He's Sweetness all, and gentle Joy,
To those who're skill'd in Love.

Then love, my Dear, and since Life's Prime
So swiftly flies away,
Let's by the Forelock seize old Time,
And revel whilst we may.

---

[3] *Act III* AIR I

Sigh no more, Virgins, sigh no more,
Men were Deceivers ever;
One Foot in Sea, and t'other on Shore,
To one thing constant never.
Then sigh not so, but let them go,
And be you blith and merry,
Converting ev'ry Note of Woe,
To *hey down, derry, derry*.

Sing no more Ditties, sing no more
Of Tales so dull and heavy,
The Frauds of Men were ever sore,
Since Summer first was 'leafy,
Then sigh not so, but let them go,
And be you blith and merry,
Converting ev'ry Note of Woe,
To *hey down, derry, derry*.

---

[4] *Act III* AIR

A Heart young and tender
Is made to surrender,
That Fair One's a Traitor who flies Love's Alarms;
For the greater her Beauty,
The greater's her Duty
To *Cupid*, from whom she receives all her Charms.

---

[5] *Act IV* AIR

Love's Power a while I did despise,
And scorn'd the fond Desire;
But ah! how ill a Heart of Ice
Resists a Dart of Fire.

So gentle is the amorous Chain,
So tempting *Cupid*'s Lure,
I hug the Bondage, court the Pain,
And only dread a Cure.

---

[6] *Act V* AIR

O! what shall I do when I'm marry'd?
Such Cares and Pains
In Wedlock Chains;
Such Bondage, who can bear it?

Del. What still inclin'd
To change your Mind?

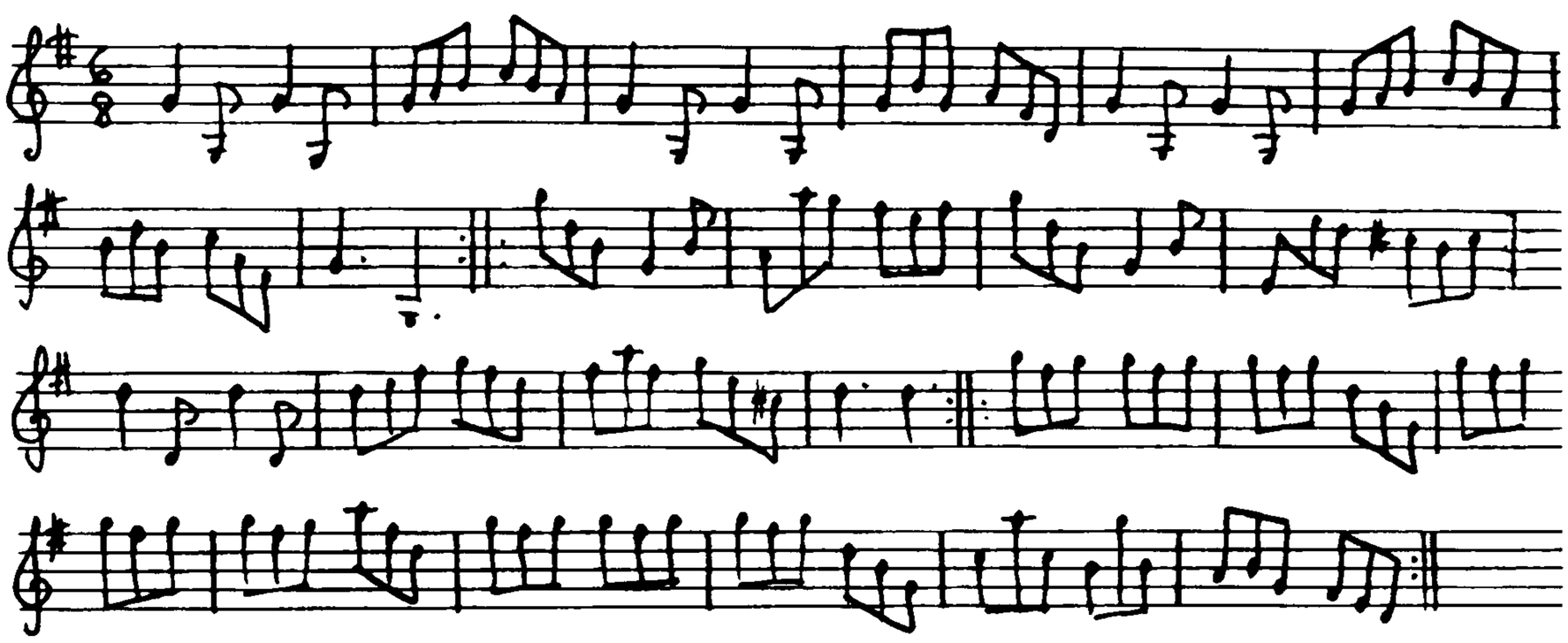
Lib. Yes — never to marry, I'll swear it.

O! what shall I do when I'm marry'd?

Del. Why sport and play
The live-long Day,
And every Night ——————

Lib. —————————— Oh horrid!
Your Hand, my Dear;
I die for fear
Of what I must do when I'm marry'd.

'A Country Dance. Much ado about nothing.'



From *The London Magazine: or, Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (October 1756).

First couple foot to the second woman, and turns her |—•—| ; the same to the second man |—••—| ; cross over two couple |—•:—| ; leap up to the top, foot it and cast off |—•:•—| ; lead thro' the third couple, cast up into the second couple's place |—•—| ; hands round all six.

Pericles

Marina George Lillo (1738) III ii

Let those who are in favour with their stars,
Of publick honour and proud titles boast;
While we whom fortune of such triumph bars,
Seek joy in Virtue that we honour most.

Great Princes Favourites their fair leaves spread,
But as the marygold at the Sun's eye;
While ruin in their pride but hides its head:
For at a frown their flatt'ring glories die.

The painful warriour famoused for fight,
After a thousand victories once foil'd,
Is from the book of Honour razed quite,
And all the rest forgot for which he toil'd.

Then let us bear the malice of our stars,
And make our noble sufferance our boast;
Tho' fortune ev'ry other triumph bars,
Seek joy in Virtue that we honour most.

The Taming of The Shrew

A New Scotch Song. Sett by Mr. Daniel Purcell, and Sung in the last Reviv'd Play Call'd, *The Taming of the Shrew*, Or, Sawny the Scot. Sung by Mrs. Harris.

'Twas in the Month of May Jo,
When Jockey first I spy'd;
He luk'd as fair as day too,
Gu'd gin I'd bin his Bride:
With cole black Eyne, and Milk white Hand,
I'se ne'er yet saw the like;
I wish I had gin aw my Land,
I'se ne'er had seen the tike.

He fix'd his Eyne upon me,
With aw the signs of Love;
I'se Thought they wou'd gang Through me,
So fiercely they did move;
He tuke me in his eager Arms,
I'se made but faint denials;
I'se then alas found aw his Charms,
Woe worth such fatal Trials.

The Bonny Lad at last, Jo,
Was forc'd tell gang away;
But I'se had eane stuck fast tho';
Full Nine Months from that day.
And now poor Jenny's Maiden head,
Shame on't, they find is lost;
The little brat has aw betray'd;
Was ever lass thus crost?

The Cobler of Preston Charles Johnson (1716)

A Dialogue SONG *between a Cobler and his wife*

I. She. Goe, goe; you vile Sot!
Quit your Pipe and your Pot:
Get home to your Stall, and be doing.
You puzzle your Pate
With Whimsies of State,
And play with Edge Tools to your Ruin.

II. He. Keep in that shrill Note,
Or I'll ramm down your Throat
This Red-hot black Pipe, I am smoaking.
Thou Plague of my Life!
Thou Gypsie! Thou Wife!
How darest thou thy Lord be provoking?

III. She. You riot and roar
For Babylon's Whore,
And give up your Bible and Psalter:
I prithee, dear Kit,

Have a little more Wit,
And keep thy Neck out of the Halter.

IV. He. Nay pr'ythee, sweet Joan,
Now let me alone
To follow this Princely Vocation.
I mean to be Great,
In spight of my Fate;
And settle my self and the Nation.

V. She. Goe, goe, you vile Sot!
He. I matter Thee not?
She. Was ever poor Woman so slighted!
He. Thy Fortune is made!
She. Goe follow your Tade!
He. I tell Thee, I mean to be Knighted.

VI. She. A Whipping Post Knight!
He. Get out of my Sight!
She. Thou Traytor, Thou! mark thy sad Ending.
He. I'll new-vamp the State;
The Church I'll translate:
Old Shoes are no more worth the mending.

The Cobler of Preston Christopher Bullock (1716)

Songs sung by Toby Guzzle

p3 I tell you that
We know not at
What moment Life is dated,
That all must mend
Before their End,
For they must be translated.

---

p4 Whenas King Henry rul'd the Land,
The second of that Name,
Besides the Queen he dearly lov'd
A fair and comely Dame.-

---

p4 My Lodging it is on the cold Ground,
And very hard is my Fare;
The unkindness of - Hic - my Dear -

---

p16 Who puts a Doublet on a Horse,
Or on a Man a Saddle,
Or claps a Stocking on his Head,
Sure that Man's Brain is addle:
Then let not Men ungifted paddle
In Streams of Sanctuary;
Teach without Knowledge, basely meddle
With what their Heads cant's carry.

Twelfth Night

Love Betray'd William Burnaby (1703)

Act II

If I hear Orinda swear,
She cures my jealous Smart;
The Treachery becomes the Fair,
And doubly fires my Heart.

Beauty's Strength and Treasure,
In Falshood still remain;
She gives the greatest Pleasure,
That gives the greatest Pain.

Act III

Cloe met[1] Love for his Psiche[2] in Fears[3],
She play'd with his Dart, and smil'd at his Tears[4],
Till feeling at length the Poyson it keeps;
Cupid he smiles! and Cloe she weeps!

Variants in Eccles: [1] found, [2] Psyche, [3] Tears, [4] Fears.

[*Act V*]

Love in her Bosome end my Care,
Fix a willing Empire there,
No Eastern Monarch ever Rul'd
So Happy, and so sweet a World.

Let me not think to Conquer more
Nor follow Joys unknown,
The Rover begs at ev'ry Door
And has not one his own.

Songs introduced into *Twelfth Night*

The French Air in Twelfth Night Sung by Mrs Ablington

How imperfect is expression
Some emotions to impart
When we mean a soft confession
And yet seek to hide the heart.
When our bosoms all complying
With delicious tumults swell
And beat what broken faltring dying
Language would but cannot tell.

Deep confusion's rosy terror
Quite expressive paints my cheek;
Ask no more - behold your error,
Blushes eloquently speak: -
What tho silent is my anguish,
Or breath'd only to the air;

Mark my eyes and as they languish,
Read what yours have written there.

O that you could once conceive me,
Once my souls strong feelings view;
Love has nought more fond believe me,
Friendship nothing half so true.
From you, I am wild, dispairing;
With you speechless as I touch,
This is all that bears declaring,
And perhaps declares too much.

A New Song Adapted to the favourite French Air as Sung by Mrs Ablington in Twelfth Night

Trust not man for he'll decieve you,
Treach'ry is his sole intent;
First he'll court you, then will leave you,
"Poor deluded" to lament.
Listen to a kind adviser,
Men pursue but to perplex;
Would you happy be, grow wiser,
And avoid the faithless sex.

Form'd by nature to undo us,
They escape our utmost heed;
Ah! how humble while they woo us,
But how vain if they succeed;
So the bird, when once deluded,
By the artful fowler's snare;
Mourns out life in cage secluded,
Fair ones, while you're young beware.

Sung by Mrs Crouch in *Twelfth Night*. Taken from Leonard Macnally's *The Fashionable Levities*

What wakes this new pain in my breast
This sense that lay dormant before
Lie still busy fluttrer and rest
The peace of my bosom restore

Why trickles in silence the tear
This sighing ah! what does it mean
This mixture of hope and of fear -
Where once was all mild and serene

What wakes ...

Some pleasingly anxious alarm
Now warms and then freezes my heart,
Some soft irresistible charm -
Alternate gives pleasure and smart

What wakes ...

The Winter's Tale

The Country Lasses Charles Johnson

Act I — The Sheep-sheering, a Ballad

I

When the Rose is in Bud and blue Violets blow,
When the Birds sing us Love-songs on every Bough;
When Cowslips and Daiseys and Daffodils spread,
And Adorn and Perfume the green Flow'ry Mead:
When without the Plough
Fat Oxen Low,
The Lads and the Lasses a Sheep-sheering go.

II

The cleanly Milk Pail
Is fill'd with brown Ale;
Our Table's the Grass;
Where we Kiss and we Sing,
And we Dance in a Ring,
And every Lad has his Lass.

III

The Shepherd sheers his jolly Fleece,
How much richer than that which they say was in Greece.
'Tis our Cloth and our Food,
And our Politick Blood;
'Tis the Seat which our Nobles all sit on;
'Tis a Mine above Ground,
Where our Treasure is found,
'Tis the Gold and Silver of Britain.

The Sheep-Shearing MacNamara Morgan

Act II — *Shepherds and Shepherdesses enter and sing*

CHORUS
Let us sing, and let us play,
Celebrate this shearing day

SHEPHERDESS
Our sheep timely shorn, enriching the swain,
As fresh as the morn, frisk over the plain.
So the generous mind, that with bounty o'erflows,
Feels the heart grow more light, for the good he bestows.

PAN Sings
Shepherds hear the voice of Pan,
God of swains, and rural peace!
I first taught the race of man
How to shear the woolly fleece:
How your shiv'ring limbs to fold,
Proofs against the Winter's cold.

Autolycus
I
Then let us all be blithe and gay
Upon this joyful, bridal day,
That Florizel weds Perdita.

II

And let each nymph and shepherd tell,
No happy pair e'er lov'd so well,
As Perdita and Florizel.
Sing high, sing down, sing ding dong bell.

The Sheep-shearing George Colman the elder

Additional songs for Florizel

Witness O Earth, and Heav'ns, and all!
Were at my feet this earthly ball,
Were I more fair than e'er charm'd eye,
Only for her I'd live and die.

Had I beyond all mortals force,
Of knowledge cou'd I drain each source,
Did every blessing on me fall,
Only for her I'd use them all.

Once more I swear, not all the worth
Of wide Bohemia's realm;
Not all the sun beholds, the earth
Contains, or seas o'erwhelm;
No friend, no father's hard controul,
My firm resolves can shake:
Can ever move my constant soul,
My plighted oath to break.

SECTION II: Histories

Henry V

King Henry the Fifth: or, the Conquest of France by the English Aaron Hill (1723)

Act V

Earth of *Albion!* open wide:
And give thy rising Genius way!
Swell with the Trumpet, and triumph with Pride,
At the glorious Renown of this Day!
Look! behold! the marching Lines!
See! the dreadful Battle joins!
Hark! like two Seas, the shouting Armies meet!
Ecchoing Hills the shock repeat!
And the Vale rings beneath their rushing feet.
Now, hoarse, and sullen, beats the dead, deep, Drum,
And mourns, in sad, slow, sound, the Overcome!
Now thickning loud, insults the Ranks, that yield,
And rolls a rumbling Thunder, round the Field!
Now the trumpet's shrill Clangor enlivens Despair,
And, in Circles of Joy, floats, alarming, in Air!
Till the wind, become musical, charms, as it blows,
And enflames, and awakens, the Foes!

Hark! Hark! - 'tis done!
The Day is won!
They bend! they break! the fainting *Gauls* give way!
And yield, reluctant, to their Victor's Sway!
Happy Albion! - strong, to gain!
Let Union teach thee, not to win, in vain!

King John

King John [Drury Lane, 23 January 1754] [Handel & Martini arr. Lampe]

Act the First: The War with France

Recit Mr Sullivan	The Torch of War Ambition wields And kindles Ruin o'er the Fields; The Verdure dies, and rough with Spears The Plain an Iron Harvest bears.
Mrs Lampe	Thirst of Empire, direful Rage! Can Blood alone thy Fury swage? The Cause unjust, a Crown the Prize! For this the Hero fights and dies.
Air Mr Sullivan	O Justice! holy Queen of right, Why should the gen'rous *Briton* fight But when *you* give the Warrior's word? Tho' first to arm at Honour's call, Why should the gen'rous *Briton* fall, But when *you* sanctify the Sword?
Recit Mrs Storer	Love of Glory shews the Prize, Justice unregarded cries: Love of Glory, that inspires Regal Breasts with restless Fires. Calls the Shepherd from his Ease, And bids him tempt the faithless Seas.
Air Mrs Mozeen	From Circling Joy the Lover learns to break, Denies the wistful Eye that calls him back; Flies from the Voice that charm'd the live-long Day, Nor turns to kiss the starting Tear away.
Chorus	Then rushes to Battle where Danger invites, And for Fame he could die, tho' for Conquest he fights.

Act the Second: The peace concluded with France

Duetto Mrs Lampe and Mrs Storer	Now Peace and Love go hand in hand, Tranquility resumes her stand; Hymen unites the royal Pair, And Concord borrows Beauty from the Fair.
Recit Mr Sullivan	Yet why shall Peace and Love unite To bar the sacred Claim of Right?
Air Mr Sullivan	Shall Hymen prostitute his Ties To swell an injur'd Orphan's Tears; Against a widow'd Matron's cries Shall Concord stop the Monarch's Ears?
Recit Mrs Mozeen	Almighty Gain! At thy Command War wastes, or Peace secures the Land: Princes and Peasants bow the Knee, And act, alike, as you decree.
Chorus	Oppression lends her Rod to you, Or sheaths the Sword Injustice drew.

Act the Third: The return of the English, and the practices of the Pope's legate.

Recit Mr Sullivan	The Love-sick Virgin smiles again, And clasps her fond, returning Swain; Her Eyes speak Extasy and Joy, Her wish'd-for Sight forbids her to be coy.
Air Mrs Lampe	Peace, thou Queen of rural Pleasures, Spring can have no Sweet without thee! Love by thee his Rapture measures, Bliss and Plenty dance about thee! Britain calls, - from Discord save her, Never, never leave her.
Recit Mrs Mozeen	Yet Superstition strives to break The Bands that Love and Concord make;
Mrs Storer	A Sacred Garb the Fury wears, And Heav'n's polluted Standard rears;
Mr Sullivan	But War and Desolation shew The gloomy Fiend that lurks below.
Chorus	Then rouse, each free-born British Youth! And vindicate the Cause of Truth: Let slavish realms the hag obey, The Land of LIBERTY rejects her sway!

Act the Fourth: The death of Prince Arthur

Recit Mrs Mozeen	Is there in heav'n no sure Defence For royal, helpless Innocence! Insatiate Death! and wilt thou feast On beauties that could pierce a Ruffian's breast?
Air Mrs Storer	His bloom of Youth, his artless Sighs, His melting Looks, his gentleness of heart, Could force a murd'rer's haggard Eyes The soft'ning Drop of Pity to impart He drops the Steel, his trembling hand Denies to execute the dire Command.
Recit Mr Sullivan	Remorse the Tyrant now assails, His glory sickens, his Ambition fails; His heart relents - but Oh too late! The Doom is past, no tears can soften Fate.
Air Mrs Lampe	So to the Flow'r, in early Spring When chill'd, relenting dew-drops cling; But when a Tempest tears the Skies, Broke short - it withers, droops and dies.
Recit Mrs Mozeen	Ill-fated blossom! Such were you, As lovely and as short-lived too! Thy charms let weeping Virgins mourn, And deck with kindred Sweets thy urn.

Act the Fifth: The death of the king

Recit Mr Sullivan	'Tis thus Ambition's toils are paid, 'Tis thus the Warrior's Glories fade;

Vain Pomp! how fleeting is thy State?
Ye laurell'd Sons of Fame, how hard your fate?

Air
Mr Sullivan

Behold how pale that manly face,
Where Majesty was mix'd with Grace!
Dim and deprest that piercing Eye
Which, eagle-like, explor'd the Sky.

Recit
Mrs Storer

Now Poison spreads infernal flame,
Disjoints and racks the goodly Frame;
Distorting pangs tear Life away,
And Britain's king to Malice falls a Prey.

Air
Mrs Storer

His widow'd bands their Pikes reverse,
With down cast Eyes surround his hearse;
The Veteran mourns his Leader gone,
While o'er his Scars the silent Tear rolls down.

Recit
Mrs Lampe

Let these his martial Deeds proclaim,
Be just, ye Nations! to his Fame;
And [lea]rn with due Applause to treat
A Soul like his, irregularly great.

Air
Mrs Lampe

What tho', a Sceptre to obtain
Ambition once could steal his heart;
Soft Pity soon return'd again,
And sad Repentance took the Orphan's part.

Air
Mrs Mozeen

What tho', to weigh his Glory down
Fortune with hell and Superstition join'd:
He reign'd, Superior to a Crown,
He reign'd, unconquer'd in his mind.

Chorus

Britannia shall his faults forget
And to her Sons his Fire translate.
Like him shall a race of *Plantagenets* fight,
But BRUNSWICK at last all their Virtues unite.

SECTION III: Tragedies

Antony and Cleopatra

Song in the second act, as in the Tonson 1758 edition

1. Come, thou monarch of the vine
plumpy Bacchus, with pink eyne;
thine it is to cheer the soul,
made, by thy enlarging bowl,
free from wisdom's fond controul,
Bur[*den*] free from wisdom's fond controul.

2. Monarch, come; and with thee bring
tipsy dance, and revelling:
in thy vats out cares be drown'd
with thy grapes out hairs be crown'd
cup us, 'till the world go round,
Bur[*den*] cup us, 'till the world go round.

Timon of Athens

Sung by Mrs Hodgson in the Play call'd Timon of Athens Set by Mr Jer. Clarke

Alass here lies the poor Alonzo slain,
Small was the wound, but wondrous great the pain.
Through his soft Breast like Lightning flew the Dart,
No Eyes cou'd see it nor the wounded Part,
And yet it pierc'd Alonzos tender Heart.
So strange a fate so sudden a surprise,
If you'l avoid look not on Cynthias Eyes.

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